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THE

MALABAR QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

K. N. SIVARAJAN, B. A.

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H. H. SIR RAMA VARMA, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E.

BY MR. R. KULATHU AIYAR.

THE Silver Jubilee of the benign reign of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has been recently celebrated throughout the State with such spontaneous rejoicings, that I have considered it not inappropriate to utilize this occasion for presenting the readers of the *Malabar Quarterly Review* with a short sketch of the life of our illustrious ruler.

His Highness Sir Rama Varma, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., F. M. U., M. R. A. S., &c., &c., Maharaja of Travancore, was born on the 25th September 1857. His father was Raja Raja Varma Coil Tampuran, a very learned and cultured Nobleman and an eminent Sanskrit scholar. His mother Rani Lakshmi Bai also was a very talented and highly accomplished lady. Scarcely eleven days had passed after his birth when his mother Rani Lakshmi Bai, who was only 28 years old, died. This was a great loss to Travancore and the then Maharaja, Uttaram Tirunal, felt tho loss very keenly. "It is impossible to describe" says Mr. Sankunni Menon, in his Travancore History, "the grief of the Maharaja and the rest of the Royal family on this sorrowful day." The baby Prince scarcely knew the deep shadow of sorrow that was cast on him. On the death of his mother the line of succession in the Royal family came to a close, and so two Princesses were

adopted from the Mavelikara house with the sanction of the British Government.

During childhood the Prince was taken great care of by his uncles who had more than ordinary interest in the young Prince. After the usual Vernacular studies, the Prince (with his elder brother Hastam Tirunal who died prematurely) was placed under the tution of Mr. Annaji Row, B. A., and afterwards under Mr. Raghunatha Row, B. A. Mr. Ross, the then Principal of H. H. The Maharajah's College, Trivandrum, supervised the tution.

In the Administration Report of 1045, M. E., Sir Madhava Row wrote:—"The studies of the young princes embraced during the year:

Reading.

History—Goldsmith's Rome, 130 pages (from the creation of the Decemviri to the establishment of the first Tirumvirate).

Geography—of Europe and Asia, 113 pages.

Arithmetic—Examples in Decimals, single and double rule of three and the rules for finding the Sq. Root.

Grammar—A portion of Sullivan's.

They read also several miscellaneous works calculated to instruct and amuse them; and to keep them informed on current topics, the illustrated *London News*, *The Madras Mail* and a couple of local News-papers have been supplied. In the beginning of the current year Mr. Ross examined them by means of written papers in Arithmetic and History and *viva voce* in other subjects. The result was on the whole satisfactory. The elder prince has unhappily not enjoyed good health and under medical advice was obliged to suspend his studies for a time. In the study of Sanskrit both Princes appear to have progressed favourably. They now mix more than before in European Society and are thus brought under the influences calculated to expand their minds. Physical education has not been wholly neglected. The Princes ride and walk a good deal more than previously. Mr. R. Raghunatha Row, B. A., the English Tutor to the young Princes, is using his best endeavours in the important work confided to him. In general knowledge and in principles of conduct they manifest a marked improvement pregnant with gratifying promise for the future."

The tution was continued till 1874. What with the able training he received, his natural intelligence and his assiduous application to his studies he grew a very learned man. He knows now all the important languages of India besides English. Mr. Ross gives some characteristics of the Prince as early as that time. "He was a man

of most equable temper. Nothing would ruffle his equanimity. In his manners always and to all, exceedingly courteous and above all conspicuously sympathetic." These were the chief points in his character which were early noticed in him by Mr. Ross.

Mr. Griffith, in his "India's Princes" speaks of our Prince's early studies and accomplishments in the following terms:—

"His Highness the present Maharaja was principally educated under a private Tutor (now holding the position of Dewan Peishcar—Deputy Dewan) assisted by the then Principal of the Maharaja's College. Under the zealous care of these gentlemen His Highness received a thorough training in all the ordinary branches of an English education. Provision was made at the same time for his acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit which is considered an essential part of a Hindu liberal education. The Maharaja writes English with ease and with a very creditable knowledge of idioms. He has long shown a taste for Music including English instrumenal music and at times has the Brigade Band at one of his suburban residences to play European Pieces to him. The band is entirely composed of Natives with the exception of the bandmaster, who is of European descent and whose family for three generations has held the appointment. His Highness, before he assumed the responsibilities of Government, used to be very fond of Lawn Tennis and was a fairly good player and even now enjoys a quiet game in the Courts of the British Resident or of the Officer Commanding the Brigade; he has also been known to find pleasure in being conducted by a European Lady-partner through the figures of the lancers or the Sir George de Coverly."

In 1873 was celebrated his threading ceremony. In 1875 his constant companion and play-mate—his dear brother Hastam Tirunal—died. This was a severe blow to him.

In his 23rd year he fell in love with the daughter of one of the late Maharajas, a typical Malabar Lady bestowed with all desirable qualities. She was a very remarkable lady fit in every way to be the companion of so noble a prince. The marriage came off soon and was celebrated with great oriental pomp and splendour. The young couple led a very happy life and soon they were blessed with a son. In the midst of all these joyous events grim sorrow crept in slowly. The hand that snatched away his dear mother and elder brother took off his affectionate wife also. He was plunged in deepest sorrow and distress. Before him lay the motherless child. The loving hand of a tender mother was not there to nurse it. The sight recalled his own

position some twenty-three years back.

In 1882 he made a tour in Southern India visiting Bangalore, Madras, Calicut, Cochin and other places.

On the 4th August 1885, the Maharaja Visakham Tirunal having breathed his last, Sir Rama Varma, Moolam Tirunal, the hero of our sketch, ascended the throne on the 19th August. He was then only 28 years of age. The coronation ceremony was performed with much splendour and *eclat*. On that auspicious occasion His Highness addressed the assembly in the following words:—

"I little expected that at the early age of 28 I would be called upon to undertake the grave responsibilities of a Ruler. And coming as I do after an illustrious line of ancestors—not the least eminent and wise of whom have been my two lamented uncles His Highness the late Maharaja and his immediate predecessor—I feel all the more my own unworthiness to fill a position to which they have done so much honor. But while thus filled with a sense of my own incapacity, I must confess to a feeling of thankfulness that I see not a little in the circumstances in which I am placed to encourage and cheer me. This ancient kingdom under the fostering care of my predecessors has entered on a career of material prosperity never before known, the finances are in a flourishing condition and the foundations of future prosperity have been laid broad and deep. I have therefore only to work on the lines chalked out for me; and in endeavouring to do this it is no small consolation to me that I shall have the cordial aid and counsel of the British Representative at my Court and the support and protection of the Paramount Power to whose fortunes those of my House are fortunately indissolubly linked; and from whom in the long course of our happy connection we have never experienced anything but uniform kindness and friendship, and to whom we have always owed and will continue to owe unswerving loyalty and above all I am full of faith and hope and devoutly pray that the Author of all good who in His infinite and inscrutable wisdom has seen fit to end short a most useful and valuable life in the midst of a bright and successful career, may "what in me is dark, illumine, what is low, raise and support," guide me in the straight path of my duty, give me the will and power to follow in the footsteps of him whose premature loss we all deplore, and enable me to the best of the light vouchsafed to me to strive to promote the well-being and happiness of the nearly 2½ millions of peaceful and industrious subjects so unexpectedly committed to my care."

On that same day a Royal warrant was issued by His Highness remitting old arrears of assessment to the extent of Rupees three lacs and a half and an annual grant of Rs. 1500 was sanctioned for the repair and construction of wells in places where they were most needed. As usual just after the Coronation there was the grand Royal procession in the State Palanquin, attended by all the officers of the State, the Nayar Brigade Sepoys with Band and all other ceremonial paraphernalia, and by thousands of people who had assembled to witness the glorious sight of their newly adorned monarch. Now full 25 years have passed since that memorable event—the Coronation. During this memorable period many and multifarious have been the reforms that have been introduced. When His Highness ascended the throne Mr. Rama Iyengar was the Dewan and he carried on the work of Survey and Settlement very vigorously. Rama Iyengar was a British Officer of great administrative abilities. He was succeeded by Mr. T. Rama Row who carried on his administration from 1887—1892. During his time the Golden Jubilee of Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress of India was celebrated. His Highness subscribed Rs. 10,000 to the Imperial Institute in London, and Rs. 2,000 to the Technical Institute in Madras started to commemorate this event. In commemoration of this event in Travancore itself the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall was built at Trivandrum.

In the year 1062 M. E. the Elaya Raja of Cochin, and the next year Lord Connemara, the then Governor of Madras, visited Travancore. In honor of latter's visit a market called 'The Connemara Market' was opened in the Capital city. The same year the Maharaja went to Bombay and paid a visit to Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and also to Lord and Lady Reay.

A Legislative Council was formed in 1888 with eight members, five official and three non-official, and with the Dewan as the President. The first meeting of the Council was held in September, 1888. The same year was started a Female Normal School in Trivandrum.

On the 4th December 1888, His Highness was given the title of "Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India."

In 1889 His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor of Wales paid a visit to Travancore. This was the first occasion that a prince of the Royal Family of England visited Travancore and grand preparations were accordingly made to give His Royal Highness a fitting reception. His Highness the Maharajah received His Royal Highness at Courtallam

and His Royal Highness left Travancore highly pleased with the hospitality extended to him.

In 1890 His Highness went on a pilgrimage to Benares and also visited Calcutta and other important towns in Upper India. In April 1892 His Highness performed the *Tulapurusha-danam* ceremony—a ceremony performed by weighing the body of the king against an equal weight in gold and distributing the gold among the Brahmins. The required quantity of gold was coined in different sizes and weights. On the appointed day His Highness went to the temple of Sree Padmanabha and after certain religious ceremonies he was weighed against gold in the presence of several learned Brahmins and the coins were distributed among them all.

In January 1894 was performed the *Padma-garbham* ceremony. *Padma-garbham* or "Hiranya-garbham (in Sanskrit, Hiranya = gold, and Garbham = belly or inside, and so Hiranya-garbham means Golden womb) is a costly ceremony like Tulapurusha-danam, but performed by only the greatest of Emperors at their coronation. A vessel in the shape of a lotus flower, ten feet high and eight feet in circumference, is made of pure gold with a cover in the form of a crown somewhat in the shape of a prize cup and this is half-filled with *Pancha-gavyam*, water mixed with ghee, milk and other substances. The Brahmins chant their devotional prayers and hymns over the vessel according to the Canon of the Vedas. The king after performing his devotions approaches the place where the vessel is kept, accompanied by all the high-priests, Brahmins of note and learning in Malabar, Tinnevelly, Madura, Canara &c., and gets into the golden vessel by means of a beautifully-lined ladder made for the purpose. When His Highness enters it, the cover is put on and he dips himself into the holy water five times while all the assembled priests and Brahmins continue praying and chanting Vedic hymns. This ceremony lasts about ten minutes after which the king comes out of the vessel by the same ladder and after going through certain other ceremonies prostrates himself before the image of Sree Padmanabhaswami, when the High Priest who is the chief celebrant of the ceremony and who acts the part of a Bishop takes the crown and placing it on the king's head pronounces the title 'Kulasekhara Perumal.' The place then resounds with Vedic hymns from the learned Brahmins."

In 1897 was celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen and the Public Library and the Victoria Orphanage were started as memorials.

Mr. Shungarasoobier who succeeded Mr. Rama Row in 1892 introduced many reforms in the state. The chief of them were the reorganisation of the Educational Department with three Range Inspectors and one Educational Secretary; the establishment of an English Normal School and a Reformatory School; the raising of the Girls High School to a 2nd grade College; the opening of an Agricultural Demonstration Farm; and the organisation of Town Improvement Committees throughout the state. The Kothayar Project, which is a blessing to the ryot population of Nanchinad, was also begun. A Women and Children's hospital was established. State Life Insurance was introduced and all the Government Servants were forced to insure their lives. Mr. Shungarasoobier's administration was a successful one and to him is due the great credit of having given a strong impetus to the cause of female education.

Mr. Krishnaswami Row took up the reins of the Government in 1898.

In January 1899 under the Command of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress the Royal Salute was increased by 2 guns. In a public Durbar held in that connection His Highness spoke as follows:—

"I regard this rare distinction not only as a token of Her Majesty's special favour but also as a proof of the interest which Her Majesty and Her representatives take in the well-being of this ancient state whose proud privilege it has always been to enjoy the friendship and protection of the British Government. While I sincerely rejoice at this the latest of the many marks of Her Majesty's goodwill to me and my House I recognise in it my obligation to merit by further endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of my people the continuance of the same confidence and regard.

"I cannot adequately express my sense of the warm interest so kindly taken by Lord Elgin in obtaining for me this coveted honor and I request you to be kind enough to convey to His Lordship my most grateful acknowledgments with the assurance of my firm and loyal attachment to the Throne and Person of Her Gracious Majesty."

On the 31st August 1900 His Highness adopted from the Mavelikara family two Princesses Setu Lakshmi Bai and Setu Parvati Bai.

In November Lord Curzon the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India with Lady Curzon paid a visit to Travancore. His Excellency in his Banquet-speech referred to His Highness in terms of praise as follows:—

"I know His Highness by repute as a kindly and sympathetic

and diligent ruler whose merits have been tested and for whom the affection of his people had been continuously enhanced by fifteen years of prosperous administration. I know him to combine the most conservative instincts with the most enlightened views. Has not the Government of India itself signified in the most conspicuous manner its recognition of his statesmanship and his services by the addition of his salute to which His Highness just now alluded.........I must be allowed to congratulate him upon the steps that have recently been taken by renewed adoption for the prepetuation of the ruling line. In due time I trust that the expectations which have been aroused by this interesting event may meet with fulfilment and that there may never be wanting in the Travancore state a succession of princes royally born, well-nurtured and qualified by instinct and training to carry on its ancient and honorable traditions...........In one respect His Highness enjoys a position of peculiar responsibility; for he is the ruler of a community that is stamped by wide racial differences and represents a curious motley of religions. In such a case a prince can have no higher ambition than to show consideration to the low and equity and tolerance to all. In the History of States no rulers are more esteemed by posterity than those who have risen superior to the trammels of bigotry or exclusiveness and have dealt equal mercy and equal justice to all classes, including the humblest of their people. In this category of princes His Highness who has given so many proofs of liberality of sentiment may attain a conspicuous place and may leave a name that will long be cherished by later generations."

In January 1903 His Highness attended the Delhi Durbar and on that auspicious occasion His Highness was created a "Knight Grand Commander of the most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire."

In January 1904 His Highness the Raja of Cochin with some of the young princes, the Dewan and other officers visited Trivandrum. Grand preparations were made in connection with His Highness's visit and the Raja returned much pleased with the reception. The next year the Maharaja returned the visit to His Highness the Raja of Cochin who entertained him with munificent hospitality.

In 1904 Mr. V. P. Madhava Row was made Dewan. The most important thing connected with his administration was the inauguration of the "Sreemoolam Popular Assembly." This assembly wherein the accredited representatives of the people are allowed to express their views to Government on various administrative problems and on their own wants is a great boon to the Travancoreans. As years

roll on it is bound to bring untold blessings, rights, and privileges to the people. Mr. V. P. Madhava Row resigned his post here, since he was called upon by the Mysore Government to take up the Prime-ministership of that State. He was succeeded by Mr. S. Gopalacharya, B. A., B. L., who was recalled by the British Government after one year. Now Travancore has as its head of administration Dewan Bahadur P. Rajagopalacharya, C. I. E., from whom the people of Travancore expect many beneficent reforms.

The wisdom with which such able and intelligent Dewans have been selected reflects no little credit upon His Highness. "His Highness' rule has been marked by wise guidance, sound judgment and great solicitude for the public good."

"His Highness," to quote Mr Nagam Aiya, "is a humane and well-informed ruler, most intelligent and practical, most punctual in all his engagements, calm, business-like, even-tempered, patient, forgiving and above all genuinely solicitous of the welfare of his people. He is besides a most industrious worker and possesses a rare mastery over details of administration which often puzzle his ablest and most experienced officials. These estimable qualities of His Highness are known far and wide. He is perhaps too modest for these times and is content especially in an age of fuss and bluster and advertisement all round—to allow his talents to lie hid under a bushel relying on the silent reward which good works may bring in due time and leaving out of account altogether the fact that men and measures are generally judged ill in a hot scramble for bubble-reputation which has in a manner to be induced before being obtained."

About His Highness' dress, appearance, and habits, Sir. J. D. Rees, M. P., writes "His Highness is somewhat below the middle height and rather slightly made with handsome regular features. He dresses plainly wearing no jewels or ornaments except a little *aigrette* which is always worn by the head of his house. He knows several Indian Languages other than his own vernacular Malayalam. His manner is singularly suave, simple and courteous. He possesses an equable temperament and those if any who have seen him lose his temper have never related the experience. In his habits he is regular and methodical. He eats moderately, never touches animal food and scrupulously abstains from alcoholic drinks.........He is fond of European society, is a member of the local European Club and is believed to admire the character of the ruling race. His Highness has a most etentive memory and most industrious habits."

We shall next see how His Highness spends his time every day. His Highness gets up early at four or half past four. After his morning ablutions he dresses himself and remains ready in the audience Hall by 5 o'clock to receive his visitors. This would keep him till 6-30' or so, and then at about seven o'clock he goes to the Palace Tank for his bath. Every alternate day he bathes with oil, and once a fortnight he gets himself shaved. After the bath he recites his prayers and goes to the Devarapura (the place of worship in the Palace) for worship, and gives off a lot of Danams (gifts) to the Brahmins. This would occupy him till 8-30', at which time he goes to Sree Padmanabhaswami Temple for worship. When he goes to the temple he puts on his head a green cap on which are engraved the feet of Sree Padmanabha symbolising the great devotion of the sovereign to the holy feet. After worship he returns to the palace at about 9 A. M., when he takes his breakfast. This is his first meal. The food is served in gold and silver plates and bowls all arranged in a large plantain leaf called *Ateekalam*. When he takes his meal the palace musicians sing songs in the adjoining room. After his breakfast he goes through his private letters that are received by Anchal* and Post. At 10 A. M., he begins his office work. The Sarvadhikariakar comes in at 10 o'clock and makes his report, which lasts till 11-30.' From 11-30' to 1 P. M., His Highness goes through all the official papers that are submitted to him for orders and passes orders with his own hand. Between 1 and 1-45' P. M., he takes some rest and a little before 2 P. M., he takes his coffee. Precisely at 2 o'clock he is ready in the Drawing Room to receive his officers. The Dewan visits him on Mondays and Fridays and the other Heads of Departments on other appointed days. He then reads his Papers and Magazines, both English and Indian, and often marks out and sends to his Dewan observations regarding State affairs. At 4 P. M., he goes on a short drive to a Bungalow near the Museum but sometimes to the beach and returns at half past five. As soon as he returns he bathes and performs his *Sandhyavandan* and other prayers. He takes his supper at 7 P. M., walks to and fro in his Drawing Room for about half an hour, and then reads newspapers and books till 9 P. M. Precisely at 9, he goes to bed.

About His Highness's loyalty to the British Crown Sir. J. D. Rees M. P., says "The Maharajah, it need hardly be said, is supremely

* The Postal Service of the Travancore State is known as the Anchal Department.—*Ed, M. Q. R.*

loyal to the throne and to the British Government. Since he cannot himself visit England he rejoiced the more that he was able to entertain in his State the late Duke of Clarence, by whose early death he was sincerely touched. Towards the King he entertains that feeling of personal loyalty and affection with which the late Queen happily inspired the Indian Princes."

His Highness takes very great interest in Female Education About this Sir J. D. Rees wrote: "The Maharaja also takes deep interest in Female Education, the proportion of girls under instruction in the State being larger than anywhere else in British India. This is partly due to the independent position occupied by women on the Malabar Coast, where they are able to choose their own husbands and even to change them for good and sufficient reasons. There are at Trivandrum a Vernacular High School, two English High Schools and a College for Women. In the Vernacular School pretty girls, clothed in white robes and wearing natural flowers in their hair, may be seen like so many dusky Hypatias demonstrating for the benefit of their pupils on the blackboard."

His Highness is a very able administrator. About his knowledge of all the details of administration Sir Arthur Lawley said in his Banquet speech in January 1907: "......I can assure you that it is a great privilege to me to see something of His Highness' work which he is carrying on here with such ability and such sagacity; while he plays with accurate propriety the part of a strictly constitutional ruler, I know that he has a complete and intimate knowledge of all the details of administration. Holding as he does a reverence for the traditions and the history of his country, at the same time he has shown himself ready to profit by Western ideas so far as they are compatible with the instincts and sentiments of his people. For instance, in the reorganisation of the Excise, in Settlement, in matters especially of Education, in matters of the advancement of Medical science and the placing of medical skill within the reach of his people his work is that of an enlightened and sympathetic ruler."

The Royal Motto of Travancore is "Charity Our Household Divinity," and a very noble motto it is. That Travancore is an asylum to people from the poverty-stricken areas of British India needs no special mention here. The predecessors of our present Maharaja have always been treading on the path of charity and righteousness and have done their best to promote the material condition of the state. Under our present ruler the state has in a conspicuous manner advanced in every direction. May God bless His Highness with long life to hold his beneficent and progressive sway over the 'Land of Charity' is the fervent prayer which constantly rises from the heart of every one of His Highness's loyal and devoted subjects in Travancore.

R. KULATHU AIYAR.

THE RATIONALE OF NATIONALISM

AND

Students and Politics.

By Prof. Kamakhya Nath Mitra, M. A., B. L.

THE subject on which I propose to address you this evening is of such stupendous magnitude and poignant interest that I quail before the task of doing justice to the theme within the brief time at my disposal. It is a subject on which feeling on all sides is so strong and acute and around which such a mass of literature has already accumulated that it may well appear an audacious resolve on my part to choose it for a set discourse at a mixed meeting of undergraduates and gentlemen who have perhaps already made up their mind one way or the other, rightly or wrongly. Some there are to whom Nationalism is ban and anathema, a mischievous creed to be put down with an iron hand, a provocation as grave and irritating as the red rag is to the bull; as there are others to whom it is a magic formula, a rallying cry, a holy shibboleth and a sacred revelation calling forth the noblest endeavours, strenuous energy and heroic sacrifice of patriots and martyrs.

Yet, there is no subject on which more loose thinking prevails than on this and if clear definition, critical enquiry, methodical treatment and relativity of judgment were ever required, then the occasion is certainly here.

I *define Nationalism* as a human activity that has back of it an intense consciousness and unconquerable pride as a nation which is a living organism by the law of God—an activity ever sustained by a passionate yearning to expand the national life in all possible directions—religious, social and moral—educational, political and industrial, —an activity of which the basis is spiritual and watchword Duty—an activity that in its eternal progression makes continual contribution to the collective wisdom and virtue of Humanity which can only be drawn together in the Parliament of Man and Federation of the World if the nations prove but true to themselves. It is the middle term by which co-ordination is to be established between Individualism on the one hand which in itself ends in wild anarchy and Universalism on the other, which when not rationalised, dribbles down into that fatuous cosmopolitanism whose subtle poison has done so much to sap our vitality as a nation and which at best is but a limp, flaccid

and contemptible affair—the easy creed of hypocrites and cowards, sanctimonious abortions, perpetually spouting nebulous generalities so that their little ends may be gained though the nation go down in a derelict into the bottomless depths of Night and Chaos. *Intellectually it is the only practical synthesis; morally it is the cult of Duty, the parent of sacrifice; spiritually it is a faith and inspiration.*

But while I tell you what Nationalism is, I must tell you as well what it is not and place the negative and positive aspects side by side to facilitate right decision on the point.

To begin with, then, *Nationalism is not Revivalism.* The Nationalist does not desire a return to the narrow world of the past with its sacerdotalism, ritualism and obscurantism. He declines to believe that religion is a matter of eating and drinking and repudiates caste as an anachronism which, whatever useful purpose it may have served in the social economy of a lost world, has no *raison d'etre* in the present. He clearly perceives that the system of caste by assigning to one class of men intellectual labour, to another military and to others agricultural, industrial and servile duties, has rendered society rigid, inflexible and immobile and by creating hereditary privileges against the law of equality based on the conception of the Fatherhood of God has perpetuated the degradation of nine-tenths of Hindus—the backbone of the community—a degradation which is the fatal dry-rot of India from which she must be saved if she is to fulfill her destiny as a nation. *To a Nationalist man is one as God is one.* To him there is no Brahmin, Sudra, Christian or Mahomedan but every one is all this in himself. To him there are but two classes of men—good and bad, honest and dishonest. All good men are according to him Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians and all bad men Heathens, Kafirs and Infidels. He has taken his stand on the eternal verities of life and so *does not recognise the communal interests of the different members of the national unit* who must make common cause against a common enemy to accelerate the attainment of national solidarity and the commonwealth to come. The common enemy is the principle of evil, the principle of monopoly, the principle of inequality, the principle of injustice, the principle of absolutism and force and fraud. The common cause is national honour, *izzat iman.* The common cause is national glory—the glory of Hindustan consecrated by the blood of fifty generations of martyrs. The common cause, I say, is not the effete and outworn past but "the gigantic future wherein the lever of action shall rest upon the Fatherland as its fulcrum, with *Humanity*

for its scope and aim; wherein the peoples shall bind themselves in a common pact and meet in brotherhood to define the future mission of each, the function of each in the general association governed by *one law for all, one God for all*."

The Nationalist believes in the law of progress. To progress according to him is not to change but to live. Cease to progress and you stagnate and rot. A man who does not believe in progress does not believe in God. If you believe that God is the source of infinite wisdom, you will have also to believe that He is eternally realising himself in individual lives and human institutions and fulfilling himself in many ways lest one good custom should corrupt all.

The Indian Nationalist then is a progressive, a modern, up-to-date in all things but *not a Philistine*. An ardent patriot, he loves his country "with a love brought from far out the storied past." He believes with Sir John Seely that patriotism is only another name for the worship of relics. He believes his words when he says that "we should form a national calendar, consecrate our ancestors—keep their images near to us—and so reap the inestimable advantage of living always *coram Lepidis*." Here lies the *Valhalla of the Nationalist*. The virtue and wisdom, the heroism and sacrifice of the past are sources of daily and hourly inspiration to him who *believes in a great future because he feels that he has a great past*. His heart leaps up at the thought of the noble poetry, sublime philosophy, living words of faith and daring deeds of heroism of his great ancestors and he believes with CARLYLE that *every nation's true Bible is its history*. He accepts all that is great and good in the past and so possesses true historical culture, but he has also keen philosophical insight and so rejects all that is evil, retrograde and reactionary. He is never a driveller in his admiration of the past.

"Yes, the days of old
I grant more fair than those that we behold;
And there has lived a race of loftier worth.
Could even History cease the past to tell,
A thousand stones that truth could chronicle
Disburied from the bosom of the earth.
But yet that race, if more endowed than ours,
Is gone to dusty graves! We—*we* survive
We have our charter in the present hours,
We have life's right to live."

The Nationalist then is not a Revivalist. Pseudo-revivalism with

its baneful concomitants of superstition and bigotry he repudiates with scorn. He knows only God and Right,—not God and *his* right—God and his duty, God and his country. When that is your creed, I should like to know who is Hindu, who Mahomedan and who Christian. That is *the only creed that will bring about the unity of India. It is this creed alone that gives you the key to the true religion of harmony*, for India to-day is the meeting-ground of all the religions of the world and the secret of a grand concordance lies in our growing national consciousness and the unity of national aim. We know that a certain religious movement in India which made some noise in its day hopelessly failed because it had not the grit to place itself in the centre of national life and seldom appealed to national sentiment and national honour. The leader of that movement KESHUB CHUNDER SEN whom I certainly respect for his devotional fervour but whose information I regret to say was not as wide as his spiritual culture and who was not at all a deep sociological thinker, went out of his way to borrow his philosophy from Cousin and theology from Channing and nominally basing his system on the Hindu *Upanishads* really built up an ærial castle of false eclecticism and sham cosmopolitanism on a wrong view of loyalty and humanity with the result that his life-work collapsed like a house of cards in a few years' time and he himself degenerated into a feminine ineffectual pietist and a shrivelled political quietist. No! that is not—that cannot be the religion of harmony. That is putting the cart before the horse. That is not *true cosmopolitanism*, for cosmopolitanism, says COLERIDGE, is not possible but by antecedence of patriotism. Do you sneer at the creed of the Nationalist as a political religion? Hear then what Sir John Seely says: "The phrase, political religion, may have very different meanings; there are two senses in which it signifies a hateful thing, but there is a third sense in which it is an admirable and necessary thing. It is a hateful thing when it means religion made the tool of a political party or governing class, as when the church consecrated the absolutism of the Stuarts, or, on a smaller scale, when the parson preaches submission to the squire. It is a hateful thing when it means the church interfering with public affairs merely with a view of strengthening its own position, of preserving its own influence or privileges or endowments. But when a church is independent of political parties and sure of the respect of the people, when it can speak with impartiality and authority, then political religion means only the purifying of politics

by connecting them with duty, honour and piety; it means only the discouragement of faction, the assertion of general principles, the keeping before the eyes of the people a political ideal." This is *spiritualised politics*—not the factious politics of the free countries of Europe—a politics which should be religiously cherished by all the students of India—a politics to which no rational being can possibly object.

Do you appeal to the BIBLE in support of the current platitude about false cosmopolitanism? Hear again Sir John Seely: "If people considered the Bible as a whole, and not merely in its separate texts, they would surely see that no book presents morals in such an inextricable union with politics. Did those Hebrew prophets, who are the prototypes of our modern preachers, refrain from meddling with politics? Are not their utterances instinct with the national life, the national vocation and the continuity of the national history? These prophets, in fact, were not so much what we should call moralists as politicians of a doctrinaire school, addressing rather classes than individuals, and dealing with public affairs rather than private."

Do you say that if the Old Testament is national the New is universal, and that the latter should be followed rather than the former? Hear again Sir John Seely: "Assuredly, when I urge that patriotism should be inculcated, national history closely connected with morality, and civil duties carefully explained, I do not mean that this is the ultimate lesson of morality. There is a higher doctrine still,—of which the New Testament is the text-book—a universal morality, which it is still more important to teach. But as the race rose to the universal morality through the national, so, it seems to me, must the individual. And I find it *a capital mistake, in the present school of preachers*, that they omit this middle class of duties altogether. *The morality of the Old Testament and of Plutarch has still its place and is indispensable.* It ought to be taught both as a step to the higher morality and to prevent it from becoming a hindrance to it. English prejudices, insular selfishness and contempt for foreigners are no doubt as much opposed as possible to Christianity. But they are to be cured, not by leading people forget that they are Englishmen, not by severing morality from all those associations of locality and circumstance by means of which it most naturally attaches itself to the mind. *The abuse of patriotism is not to be cured by destroying patriotism itself*; but patriotism is to be strengthened by being purified, by being deprived of its exclusiveness and

ultimateness. *The Christian unity of mankind is to be taught as a final lesson, which will be easiest learnt, or rather will only be learnt, by those who have already realised the Unity of the State*"

This is a long extract, but so suggestive that I make no apology for quoting it in full. They are the words of an English Nationalist, an eminent professor of Cambridge, whose books are taught in the Indian Universities and who pronounced those words of wisdom in an address to the students. The *cant of cosmopolitanism* will never disappear from India unless you wear those words 'as a sign upon your hand and as frontlets between your eyes.'

Hear also Joseph Mazzini, the Coryphæus of Nationalism, the greatest thinker that Europe has produced between the ages of Rousseau and Tolstoy: "The religious idea is the very breath of Humanity; its life, soul, conscience and manifestation. Humanity only exists in the consciousness of its origin and the presentiment of its destiny; *and only reveals itself by concentrating its powers upon some one of the intermediate points between these two.* Now this is precisely the function of the religious idea. The idea constitutes a faith in an origin common to us all, sets before us, as a principle, a common future; unites all the active faculties *on one sole centre*, whence they are continuously evolved and developed in the direction of that future, and guides the latent forces of the human mind towards it. It lays hold of life in its every aspect, and in its slightest manifestations; utters its augury over the cradle and the tomb, and affords—philosophically speaking—at once the highest and the most universal formula of a given epoch of civilisation; the most simple and comprehensive expression of the knowledge (scientia); the ruling synthesis by which it is governed as a whole, and by which its successive evolutions are directed from on high."

After all that I have said and all the quotations I have made, I hope I have successfully demolished *the cant of cosmopolitanism*. But there is another cant which I have yet to dispose of viz., *the cant of humanity*, the necessary corollary of the cant of cosmopolitanism. The Nationalists' humanity is *true humanity* and not that brummagem article which passes for such His humanity is the humanity of Voltaire which has been so neatly characterised by LORD MORLEY, our Secretary of State, in his life of that great man—a book which has certainly been intended for students all over the world. These are the words of Lord Morley: "In its pale shape of kindly sentiment and bland pity it is common enough, and is always the portion of the

cultivated. But *humanity armed, agressive, and alert, never slumbering and never wearying*, moving like ancient hero over the grave to slay monsters, is the rarest of virtues and Voltaire is one of its master types." Here is a canonical text of ministerial scripture and I hope you are convinced.

The Nationalist is not disloyal. On the contrary he is *the only loyal person in the world.* It is impossible for him to be disloyal because he has living faith in God and his country. But *false loyalty* is his utter aversion. He is *no believer in the exploded doctrines of Divine Right and passive obedience. True loyalty* according to him is due to God and the Fatherland first and to temporal power only when the human law is in conformity with law divine. This is the only rational interpretation of the very much misunderstood Biblical text: *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's.* The Nineteenth century did not produce a more earnest preacher of loyalty and obedience than THOMAS CARLYLE. Yet hear what he says: "Obedience, a virtue universally forgotten in these days will have to become universally known again. Obedience is good and indispensable: but if it is obedience to what is wrong and false,—good Heavens, there is no name for such a depth of human cowardice and calamity; spurned everlastingly by the gods. Loyalty? Will you be loyal to Beelzebub? Will you make a covenant with Death and Hell? I will not be loyal to Beelzebub; I will become a nomadic Chactaw rather, a barricading sansculotte, a Conciliation-Hall repealer; anything and everything is venial to that."

I must dispose of another cant, namely the *cant of evolution*. Here again the Nationalist differentiates between *true evolution* and its mischievous succedaneum. *The Nationalist, a true sociologist.* is an evolutionist in the true sense of the term, because he believes in God and in His Law of Infinite progress. His *definition of evolution* is that it is the process carried on by the sum total of all the facts and forces that make for the progress of Humanity through the progress of nations and individuals. He is *not a revolutionary* because he is not a mere destructive. *He has come not to destroy but to fulfill.* He has *a constructive programme* and does not care to chop logic over the nice distinction between *the negative and the positive in things political and social.* Says Mr. FREDERIC HARRISON: "What is negative, what is positive work in things political and social? Destructive work in statesmanship, provided it be permanent, is *ipso facto* constructive, if it enables the new system to form and to grow. As

Luther, Wickliffe, Latimer were primarily destructives in theology, or as Voltaire, Hume, Kant were primarily destructives in metaphysics, though vast constructions have grown up on the ground which they cleared and laid bare, so some of the most mighty founders of political reconstruction, left at their deaths nothing permanent except their decisive work of destruction. *In societies to destroy the effete, at the right time, in the right way, and once for all, is to reconstruct.* Sulla, Attila, Philip II, Robespierre and Marat were mere destructives and anarchists, because their destruction was evil, and what they destroyed was destined to revive. But those who like Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Charles the Great, Godfrey de Bouillon, Louis XI, William the Silent and Oliver Cromwell, sweep away what is destined to perish past any revival, and after finally preparing the new ground, design a new type of society and show forth an ideal of a better world, these men are constructive statesmen, even though their direct foundations are entirely modified and rebuilt."

The ideal of true social evolution could not be better set forth than in the above words of wisdom. Bear those words very well in mind. But I have not yet told you anything about those worthy people who are never tired of their cant of evolution and seem to derive as much consolation from the word as a certain worthy lady is said to have derived from the charming name of Mesopatamia. Here I will not tell you anything myself but let Lord Morley speak for me. These are his shrewd and sly observations on the so-called evolutionists :—

"Voltaire had just little part or lot in the complaisant spirit of the man of the world, who from the depths of his mediocrity and ease presumes to promulgate the law of progress, and as dictator to fix its speed. Who does not know this temper of the man of the world, that worst enemy of the world? His inexhaustible patience of abuses that only torment others; his apologetic word for beliefs that may perhaps not be so precisely true as one might wish, and institutions that are not altogether so useful as some might think possible; his cordiality towards progress and improvement in a general way, and his coldness or antipathy to each progressive proposal in particular; his pygmy hope that life will one day become somewhat better, punily shivering by the side of his gigantic conviction that it might well be infinitely worse. To Voltaire, far different from this, an irrational prejudice was not the object of a polite coldness, but a real evil to be combated and overthrown at every hazard. Cruelty was not to him as a

disagreeable dream of the imagination, from thought of which he could save himself by arousing to sense of his own comfort, but a vivid flame burning into his thoughts and destroying peace. Wrong-doing and injustice were not simple words on his lips; they went as knives to the heart; he suffered with the victim, and consumed with an active rage against the oppressor."

Now I hope you have understood who these worthy people are. Beware of them! They are the *Materialists and Machiavellists of Indian politics.* Beware of the man of the world, the worst enemy of the world! Beware, I tell you again, of Materialism and Machiavellism—for that way damnation lies!

I have not yet exhausted my subject—indeed, it is a subject that is practically inexhaustible. I have not yet answered the question so pertinently put: *Is the Nationalist prudent?* My answer is in the affirmative. He is wise as the serpent and innocent as the dove. He counts each step he takes and looks before and after. His resources are illimitable. His vision is clear. *But prudent as he is, the foundation of his character is enthusiasm* born of a deep discontent with the present, an earnest faith in his cause and constant contemplation of a noble ideal. Prudence alone cannot save a nation. It is the only virtue left to us at sixty years old. So *that* cannot be the dominant virtue of the strenuous Nationalist who is ever fresh and ever young. Prudence is the conservative principle in society but enthusiasm is the parent of liberalism. The Nationalist, therefore, who is a believer in progress is nothing if not enthusiastic. Prudence is of earth earthy, but enthusiasm is divine. *Prudence is the centripetal force and enthusiasm centrifugal;* and just as the operation of these two forces keeps the stars in their orbits, so the resultant of these two forces is *the cosmic and elemental activity of the true Nationalist* who never swerves an inch from his orbit of duty, though the heaven above may thunder and the earth below may shake. The menaces of the principle of evil have no terror for him. He sets his teeth the harder, locks his fists the firmer and holds on with grim determination.

The *true Nationalist loves all men* as children of the same Father and hates no one in the world except when his hate has its root deep in love; for I tell you, *the measure of your hate is the measure of your love.* If you love God, you must hate the Devil; if you love justice, you must hate injustice; if you love all that is good, then it is but natural that you should hate all that is evil. That is *the true philosophy of love.* The Nationalist lives it and if he hates he hates only in

this sense—but *the foundation of his character is love* which lies deep in the moral law of the universe.

Because the true Nationalist believes in the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of men, therefore *his attitude towards the foreigner is always friendly.* How can he, ardent patriot, forget the noble tradition of his country that afforded an asylum to the persecuted nations of the earth in days when India was free? No, that is impossible. He frankly *admits the principle 'Live and Let Live' but not 'Live and Let Domineer.' The only condition he seeks to impose on the foreigner is negative. He wants him not to stand in his way.* If he accepts the condition he is quite welcome. If he takes active part in the Nationalist Movement, he is welcome three times thrice.

From the moral point I told you at the outset that *Nationalism is the cult of Duty.* This he has learnt from *the immortal Geeta* and also from that great *Karmayogin* of Europe, *Joseph Mazzini*, whose 'Duties of Man' is the *Vade mecum* of every true-born Nationalist. He believes that he is nothing but the faithful servant of God and so cannot conceive that he can have any right. *All Right in his eyes inheres in God alone—it is for us but to do our duty not for any reward but for duty's sake.* Mazzini has very well said that *the sole origin of every Right is in a Duty fulfilled.* It is true that insistence on Right only and persistent self-assertion have not seldom done wonder in human history and it is also true that the mere cult of Duty has been very often distorted by selfish parties to the degradation and enslavement of man, but the Indian Nationalist prefers to lay stress on Duty as opposed to Right, for *Duty is the parent of sacrifice and it is sacrifice that we want now.* He prefers to emphasise Duty because all great thinkers of Europe have clearly perceived that *mere declaration of Rights of Man has landed Europe in Anarchy*—a social evil which men like Carlyle, Ruskin and Arnold have all deeply deplored—a social problem which they have all tried to solve in their own way. The social philosophers of Europe are all agreed that *unless politics is spiritualised, capital moralised and land nationalised there is no hope for the world.* The Indian Nationalist, wise in his generation, has taken his warning from the example of Europe and so calls upon you all to do your duty. *Without Duty there cannot be Association and without Association there cannot be a New Birth. Right can but pull down and destroy—it cannot put one stone upon another.* How true! Have we not seen *recently what mischief this exclusive notion of Right has done in India?* Have we not seen the undignified scramble for communal interest in which the Hindu,

Mahomedan and Eurasian—Sikh, Jain and Zoroastrian—have flown at each other's throats for little bits of paltry advantage—advantage that is no advantage at all? If you pull at such bits of advantage when the avalanche is thundering, then rest assured, there is no future for India. If anyone thinks of '*predominant partnership*'—a phrase very flattering to the vanity of some presumptuous mediocrities whom I need not name—then I can tell him emphatically that he is doomed to disappointment, for *predominance is not a thing of Art, Arithmetic and Geometry but is based on the eternal law of genius, virtue and wisdom.* Cease to talk of Rights. Begin to think of Duty. That way salvation lies.

This naturally brings me to the consideration of *what the Nationalist seeks.* Here again I quote Mazzini with slight verbal alterations:

"What he seeks is Association, unity and *not separate interests.*

"How shall we realise this securely unless among brothers, believing in the same principle, united in the same faith, and bearing witness by the same name?

"What he seeks is education.

"How shall we give or receive it, unless in virtue of a principle that sums up and expresses our common belief as to the origin, the aim, and the law of life of mankind upon earth?

"What he seeks is a *common education.*

"How shall we give or receive it without belief in a common faith and a common duty?

And whence can we deduce a common duty, if not from the idea we form of God and of our relation to Him?"

The Nationalist seeks then Association, Education, *common education—not denominational*—in order that the Nation may grow in Brotherhood, Virtue and Wisdom.

But *how can you associate, educate and grow in brotherhood, virtue and wisdom if you have no Freedom? Freedom is the breath of life.* Freedom is the indispensable condition of human greatness. The world does not furnish a single instance of a nation growing virtuous and wise in slavery. "*Wheresoever is the spirit of God, there is liberty.*" *The principle of Religion is the principle of emancipation* by whatever name you may call it—Salvation, Moksha or Nirvana. The Nationalist then seeks Freedom not because it is his right but because it is his duty to seek it. Yet he is not an *eleutheromaniac*, because Freedom he seeks as a means and not as an end in

itself as he *seeks material prosperity as a means of independence and power for good The end is perfection.* Freedom he seeks not in order that he may do whatever he may like but because *it creates responsibility that developes manhood. Governments have nothing to fear* from this spirit of freedom as it is the verdict of History that wherever Freedom has been established, Government has improved. Besides what is it that you call Government? *Government is nothing but an instrument of the people in whom alone resides true sovereignty.*

As a necessary corollary of the above proposition, it follows that *the Nationalist is a Republican by conviction.* This Republican ideal is *not necessarily inconsistent with monarchy*, provided the monarch only reigns and not rules *or for that matter with a second chamber* provided it is not hereditary. The Government in England for example is republican in essence though monarchico-aristocratic-cum-popular in form. *Republicanism then or rather Federal-monarchico-republicanism is the political ideal of the Indian Nationalist*—an ideal which must be *distinguished from absolute democracy.* Says MR. FREDERIC HARRISON: "A true Republic is not the same thing as an absolute democracy or an absolute equality. Every citizen has an equal claim to serve the state but every citizen is not equally able to serve it. And if all did actually serve it at once, the state would be very ill served. *The true Republic needs the best.* By best, it means the worthiest, apart from birth or wealth *(the so-called "stake" of the 'un'natural leaders).* And the best must be acknowledged as such by *common consent*............... *The essence of a republic* is a state whose power is reserved not to privilege but to merit, where it is exercised *in the sole interest of the community, and never in the interest of any class or order*......... There are thus *three tests of the true republic*:—(1) That power rests on fitness to rule (irrespective of caste, creed, rank or sex); (2) that its sole object is the public good (and not the good of a privileged class); (3) that it is maintained by public opinion, and not by force"

This, then, is the political ideal of the Indian Nationalist. Here is *Democracy but not without reverence*—and so the followers of Carlyle have nothing to say.

The Nationalist then seeks democracy in politics as opposed to despotism, co-operation in society as opposed to competition, toleration in religion as opposed to bigotry with universal education and liberty for all irrespective of caste, creed, colour or sex—AND HE IS BENT ON HAVING WHAT HE WANTS.

You shake your head and say the difficulties are great, but *the Nationalist is a man of faith praying unceasingly to the God of Nations and not a mere calculating machine* and IT IS FAITH, KNOW WELL, THAT MOVES MOUNTAINS. Half our difficulties, I tell you, we create ourselves. Differences we have in all conscience, but what country is there that has not its differences? In the United States of America, in Canada, in Austria, great differences prevail—differences of language, race, colour and creed, but the unity of state has been secured for all that. *What man has done man can do, God willing. Believe that you are strong and you are strong—believe you are weak and you are weak. It is your enemies, know very well, that emphasise your differences to chill your hearts and numb your hands. The fundamental unity of India as a nation the man who runs may read. What the Nationalist wants is not a dead level of uniformity but unity in variety.* Thus unity in variety in India is destined to be the mother of a mighty civilisation. Civilisation started from India and it is my firm conviction that it will find its highest fulfilment in India. To men of little faith I say BELIEVE. To those who can see I say: SEE ALL WHO HAVE EYES TO SEE. Ask your Professor of History and he will tell you that all revolutions in thought and affairs have been accomplished by *a minority of enthusiasts.* If that is so, then what cannot we do if we all try? You ask me *Can We?* I answer, WE CAN.

But what is the way—the method? *The method of the Nationalist is the method of self-help,* for he knows well that God helps those only who help themselves. This *does not preclude the idea of respectfully but honourably approaching Government,* for Government is a part of our environment and cannot exist for a single day without the will of God, but primarily he addresses the people rather than the Government, *for next to God, the people is the only permanent thing in the world.* Governments, good, bad and indifferent have a hundred times come and gone—the Devil of Tyranny has a hundred times rent the body of the state and has been a hundred times expelled, but *the people, the image of God* endures and shall endure to the crack of Doom. *All lasting work must be broad-based on the people's will. With the people, through the people, up to God.*

The method of self-help is only another name for ORGANISATION. The people has but to make up its mind and the kingdom of Heaven is yours. "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." What the Nationalist wants

is *not a bloody revolution but peaceful propagandism. The force he relies upon is moral and not physical.* If you punish him for that he *will imitate Christ* and suffer like a martyr. If you hinder him in one way, he will continue his work in a hundred different ways, for he is nothing if not resourceful and inventive.

If you ask me to give you the details of the actual working scheme of the Nationalist, then I am sorry I shall have to disappoint you, for I am but a doctrinaire Nationalist and not a practical worker except as a teacher of youth. Besides as most of you are *students* and the period of your life is the period of mental preparation, so I want you not to have anything to do with actual politics; but as social and political philosophy forms a course of your studies at college, so I want you as Indian Students to understand the fundamental principles of the Nationalist Movement, its methods, aim and scope, for it is *a God-sent movement—the greatest movement that has ever taken place in the history of India. It is in this sense only that students should deal with politics. Students should above all be students of affairs and not dried-up mummies shut up in a museum.* Read your text-books by all means and read them very carefully too, but also read many other things besides and always keep your eyes open and think and feel. I am of opinion that students should not as a rule take active part in national affairs except, of course, at the most critical moments which may not come even once in a century—movements on which hinge the saving and perishing of nations. Therefore I as an Indian Professor appeal to you as Indian Students to cherish in the heart of your hearts the noble principles I have sought to inculcate and before I conclude I appeal to you again with all the earnestness I can command, in the name of all that you hold sacred, to REPENT, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND.

KAMAKHYA NATH MITRA.

FATE.

By Mr. T. Lakshmana Pillai, B. A.

FATE is the popular name for a mysterious power which governs the universe, is accountable for the joys and sorrows of creatures, and is supposed to transcend their power and control. With some, it stands for a fixed, preordained arrangement of God of things and events according to some karmic or other laws, the course of which nothing else could alter or annul. The conception of fate differs in different individuals according to their mental development. With some, it is the equivalent for the wildest chance and it is therefore conceived of as arbitary. All things that transpire contrary to the expectations of man are imputed to the freaks of fate. In savage days, even the spirit of malicious vengeance was ascribed to it, and it was worshipped and propitiated as a terror-inspiring deity. With the advent of civilization, it lost its malignity and, therefore, some of its terror, and men grew to have more rational conceptions of it, as being the equivalent for a law in nature by which creatures were rewarded for their good deeds and punished for their bad ones. It acquired the names of Nemesis and Karma. The decrees of fate are taken to be preordained, irrevocable, implacable, inexorable. Western science has now dispelled the notion that things, so far as the physical world at least is concerned, transpire by mere chance. Every event, even the fall of a leaf, or the "blowing of the zephyr beneath the violet" is the result of the workings of well-ordered laws of nature. The popular sense of the word 'fate' is not the one contemplated in this paper.

For that purpose, and if all the agencies at work in the production of events should be summed up in a word and called fate, fate may be described as the sum-total of natural laws at work, both physical and spiritual, at any given point of time, place or circumstance. By spiritual is meant here only the non-physical or supra-physical. Fate, in this sense, works through the so-called freewill of man and that of other sentient beings too. In other words, a part of the events that transpire in the world is ascribable to the workings of man's will and the wills of all other sentient creatures whose workings are governed by laws. Thus in the larger sense of the word fate, a complete chart of the domain of fate would include all that has been felt, thought of and done by all creatures, human and other, and also all that has

transpired in the world by dint of the forces and agencies outside the sphere of activities of creatures. In short, all that has passed into history is fate and is fate because it is past. The laws governing the will being part of natural laws the will of man may be said to be part of fate in the sense last indicated. You might say the so-called free-will of man is one of those subtle instruments through which nature works out her ends through human agency. In man is exhibited every moment the result of the sum-total of natural laws at work in the universe, *including the laws by which he works out his own ends.* The popular idea of fate *excludes* the freewill of man, nay, sets fate in opposition to it, or makes it independent of it, and freewill is conceived of as wholly subservient to the dictates of fate. But it is a known fact that the will of man has in some cases overcome the forces of nature outside him, which represent the sphere of fate in the popular sense, so that to judge by results, the cause in the case of any particular event may be either fate or freewill according to the preponderance of either in the last stage of its production or consummation. The popular and partial view of the relative positions of fate and freewill is the parent of many confusions and contradictions in controversies on these subjects. The two facts are conceived of as on two separate planes of thought and it is not understood that in reality they are inseparable as weight from inertia or a part from the whole. Their separation is only in the mind and not in fact.

Practically, the workman may afford to despise fate (fate in its limited sense, excluding the laws at work within man); he *need* never think of it, perhaps, he *should* never, and should seem to rely only on the strength and force of his own muscle. It is right that his buoyancy of spirit should not be disturbed by what Shakespeare would call "the pale cast of thought." But what is this, after all, except ignoring for the time being the fact that his will is a part or one of the forces of nature? We are not conscious that the apparently simple fact of our standing erect is the result of the equal balancing of the centrifugal and centripetal forces. Similarly, the workman is apt to forget that even his muscle works under laws limitations and environments, that it works in direct proportion to its power, and that that power is again derived remotely from the parents and immediately from the food and other substances which his system had just then assimilated, and has regard to the number of times and variety of ways in which it has been already called into play. Even his will, which he thinks free and which can be

developed like his muscle, is to a great extent governed by the mood or passion of the moment, and the influences, direct and indirect brought to bear upon it from without and from within. Fate, in the wider sense, comprising the workings of all nature's laws and forces including those at work within man, is elastic enough to hold its sway over the subtlest freaks and farthest roamings of his so-called freewill. Freewill working in the abstract that is, stripped of its coexistent mental conditions, which again have reference to time, place, circumstances, conditions, limitations and environments, is nowhere to be found. Though all these coexistent conditions exist, yet the *consciousness* of the freedom of the will is innate and immediate and seems to well up in man independently of them. It seems to be, like human intelligence itself, a perpetually lighted lamp, a sense of spontaneity, of constantly renewed force, ready for use. Man seems to possess liberty of thought and liberty of action. He seems to be at liberty to make a choice in all his undertakings, and when he chooses, he seems to be entirely independent of any laws to govern him but those of his own will. And he is certainly justified in exercising this seeming liberty or spontaneity, according to the best of his lights.

Now, man by the very constitution of his mind and body is subject to two states, viz., the objective and subjective or the active and passive. These states are due primarily to the disposition of the active and passive nerves in his nervous organization. This distribution leads directly or indirectly, on the one hand, to the subjective states of mind such as sensation, emotion, external impressions, passive observation and contemplation, although with the latter two states a certain degree of activity is also combined and on the other hand, to intentions or volitions and to muscular activities. Of course, no hard and fast line of distinction can here be drawn, for it has to be borne in mind that the passive states are not without a certain admixture of activity and the active states are not unaccompanied by a certain condition of passivity ; but the distinction is made in consideration of the preponderance of activity over passivity and of passivity over activity in each case. No well-marked line of boundary is discernible between the two states and the one may at any moment slide into the other. Though a complete separation cannot be made between these states, yet all mental states can, for the purpose of investigation, be broadly divided into active and passive, or objective and subjective. Contemplation is a higher state of

thought which implies comparatively a great amount of passive reflection and may therefore be characterized as a subjective state of mind, in contradistinction to actual volitions in the mental plane and muscular activities on the physical. It is of various kinds and degrees. It generally forms the preliminary or preparatory stage in the process of moving the will to action, or choice out of a variety of courses leading to action. It leads, sometimes helped by other conditions and circumstances, to the formation of an intention, or in its lower aspects, to passion, and thus descend to that state of mind which immediately precedes the formation of an intention. When it passes into intention the will is in a state ready to be moved, assisted or unassisted by other circumstances, and provided nothing else intervenes, the first step is taken towards action. Pleasure as an allurement and pain as a deterrent are primarily powerful motives of action with all creatures. Pleasures and pains are of various kinds and degrees, ranging from the most intellectual and cosmopolitan, down to the purely emotional and sensational, selfish and narrow. There is also the pleasure attaching to altruistic actions and that attaching to the performance of one's duty.

Intentions ripen into action when the surrounding circumstances are favorable therefor. In the absence of any of those circumstances, or in the presence of adverse ones, an intention may not develop into act, but may either die as an intention, or, if it is sufficiently strong and enduring, awaits the advent of the necessary complement of circumstances. A long meditated revenge, constantly postponed for want of an opportunity or means, is an instance in point. Thus, a good or a bad intention, though conceived, may remain unaccomplished for want of the necessary stimuli to action, either from within or from without, or by the timely interception, interference, or influence of an adverse external agent or agents In the same way as the course of contemplation or that of an intention is liable to be crossed or modified by the action of external agents, actions are themselves liable to be crossed or modified by external agents, or contemplation, or emotion, or any such internal state. Contemplation and action may be taken as the two extreme aspects of the subjective and objective states of the mind and may act and react upon each other, assisted or crossed, or modified, by other external or internal agencies.

It will be remembered that contemplation and action are not absolutely opposed to each other, but from a higher stand-point, the one is a step towards the other. The distinction is mule, as his

already been remarked, merely to mark the preponderance of the passive state of the mind in the one, and of the active state in the other, or the respective effects of the workings of the afferent and efferent nerves in the system. From the stand-point of external agencies or circumstances, they both imply active states of the mind. A sense of the weight or force of external circumstances or influences generally induces the state of passive contemplation; and, on the other hand, a sense of the strength of our will and of our own energies and resources induces the active states. Fate and freewill may be taken to stand for the forces that are at work in the production of these two states.

Fate and freewill may be likened to two concentric circles or globes* that do not cut each other, but one of which is contained within the other. Fate standing for the sum-total of all natural laws and of the results produced by the action and inter-action of those laws, includes freewill. The larger globe is fate and is infinite and unconditioned. The smaller globe is freewill and is finite and conditioned. This simile is not to be taken too literally but only as a help to understand the relationship of the one to the other. From the stand-point of the Absolute, there is no separation whatever between the two, just in the same way as there is no fixing precisely the limits between contemplation and intention, or intention and action, or the physical and mental world within man. There is no contradiction in saying that fate (the sum-total of nature's laws in operation) is *everything* and that the freewill of man (comprising the laws that govern his thoughts, feelings and actions) is *something*. The distinction is made simply as the result of two stand-points of view. How far this something, viz., the freewill of man is a determiuing factor in his actions and experiences is guaged by various circumstances such as education, character, natural endowments, physical and mental energies, training, surrounding circumstances, influences, passions, principles, moods of the moment &c. Fate and freewill do not exist actually separated from each other. The Arabian sea is a part of the Indian Ocean and does not exist separated from the latter, though called by a different name. Nor do the small gulfs and bays so exist. The whole is one piece of water. The statement is made as a result of the view of

* That this simile is not an extravagant one may be gathered from the following remark concerning a recent scientific work called *the Origin of Life*:— "Nature is one vast electrical machine, containing within itself an infinite number of smaller electrical machines, which combined make the one pulsating whole that we call nature".

one thing as a whole and of the view of *its part or parts.* The two views have their independent uses in two states of mind. Man's life is moulded by the results of both views, acting conjointly or separately. To use another simile, the moon of man's life revolves round his freewill (the earth) and fate (the sun). The smaller circle of globe, viz., freewill is not fixed to one condition, but may be widened or narrowed by many influences of which training, example and devotion are a few. Assuming for the sake of argument that fate is exclusive of free will, the space through which the smaller globe or freewill develops may be said to be the space from which the larger part of the globe, viz., fate, recedes from it. The more the smaller globe develops, the more is it filled with the spirit and the power that fills the infinite globe called fate. On the contrary, the more it is weakened, the less is it filled with that spirit and power. *The forces contained in both globes* have to be considered in the striking of results, that is, in determining the condition of man at any particular moment of life. In one sense, or from one view, 'we are nothing and fate is all'; in another, we are something, in as much as we form part of the Absolute; and these two views do not contradict each other, but rather complement each other, as the active and passive nerves complete man's nervous organization.

Viewed objectively, one's own thoughts, emotions &c., are part of the etherial web woven by fate (in the larger sense); while subjectively, they are the product of the exercise of that degree of human freedom and power (parts of the universal) of which one is the conscious possessor at the moments when those thoughts) emotions &c., become manifest to one's mind. When the human organism is viewed (though it does not so exist) as existing independently of the universe, and when fate is viewed (though it does not so exist) as exclusive of the freewill, then the boundaries of the region of fate may be seen clearly marked in the impracticability of the present, the improbability of the future and the irrevocability of the past. These are due, so to speak, to the overpowering influence of laws and forces other than those which are at work in man over the latter making the efforts of the latter entirely futile, or to a great extent, overlapping them.

By the relative condition of the human mind as an individual unit in the universe, it is disposed to take two views:—one, of its own littleness, and the other, of the world's infiniteness. The consequence is that fate and freewill are viewed as antagonistic with each other whereas, in reality, no antagonism exists; but the result at any parti-

cular moment is the combined result of the two sets of forces, or to speak more correctly and from a higher stand-point, of one force variously applied, or the inward and outward aspects of fate's workings, if we may use the term in its largest sense.

Conscious as we are of a will that is one moulding force among fate's magnificent array of forces at work in the affairs of our life, the obligation to do our best is born of the almost intuitive perception that by the exercise of the will under its best conditions and influences, more good than we have will result. The birth of this obligation is of course too subtle to be analytically understood. Here is the sphere of duty. The presence of the consciousness of our meanness, coupled with the perception of a higher or worthier ideal, induces a sense of duty which bids us exert ourselves to our utmost towards the attainment of that ideal, even though under the circumstances in which we are placed that attainment may not be immediately possible. The perception referred to above may be regarded as a provision of nature or God to turn to good account, that is, to the utilization of it for the development of the inner man or soul, the will which we call ours and which we call free. For the purposes of duty, a full view of the sphere of fate is unnecessary. It may therefore be dispensed with on the practical side. In the case of weak minds which are apt to believe that fate (in its limited sense) is *everything* and that free-will is *nothing*, a settled conviction that the decrees of fate are omnipotent and therefore insuperable may prove pernicious by paralyzing their activities. Their wills cannot act, so to speak, under shackles imaginary or real.

But the larger view of fate is more necessary and advisable, in the case of strong minds, as a consolation when the irrevocable impracticable, or unattainable confronts their view, as the combined result of the totality of nature's laws in operation, including those which govern man. The inscrutability of fate, on the other hand, acts in such minds as an incentive to examine the nature and springs of their own actions and their ultimate bearings and, in the embarrassment that follows an examination of the multiplicity and variety of causes and effects, to deem it safe as well as proper in every case to rest on and have their faith firmly fixed to, the eternal verities, the moral government of the world by a moral being. In its higher and better aspects, therefore, the worship of fate, being so far from identical with or leading to lethargy, indifference or inaction, is coextensive with the best recognition of

and the devoutest admiration for the moral laws of God or nature. It will be seen from the above exposition that fate in its popular limited sense as outside the sphere of man's action is not everything and that, in a certain sense and conventionally taking man as a being independent of the universe, man has a freewill and is a free agent. Freedom or liberty is at best a relative idea. Absolute freedom there is none. Our limbs, whether physical or mental, will move only in particular ways and not as we would like. The mind feels and thinks in particular modes and according to particular laws; but, granted those modes and granted those laws, there is, relatively speaking, full freedom for the mind to think, to roam about, to choose and to will. A simile may perhaps make the matter clearer. The human mind is like the spider that weaves its web. The spider can weave a certain area of web out of the substance supplied from itself and, so far, it is free. But its supply of weaving-stuff is not unlimited and must soon be exhausted. Spiders may possibly be reared, just as some other creatures are, that is, it may be developed so as to engender a larger quantity of the weaving-stuff to enable it to weave a larger web. In the same way, the will of man may also be developed by exercise, discipline, precautions, stimulations &c.,. On the other hand, the spider weaves only a particular form of web. Similarly, the will works only in certain ways. Though the area traversed by the human will, backed by human thought, is far wider, it still acts only under certain conditions imposed upon it and under certain laws and limitations, similar to those of the spider. Granted those laws and limitations, and granted the subjection of the will to them, the will may be said to be free to act. But this is not absolute freedom. In the instance quoted, the spider has a certain freedom of choice, as for instance in respect of the time and place of its action. The same holds good with regard to man's will, but in a far wider way. The area of choice for a man's will is very great indeed, but it is not unlimited. In the last analysis, he cannot, so to speak, jump out of himself. He is, for instance, subject to the conditions of his birth and education and the peculiar bent of his mind. Relatively speaking then, the human will is free, and with that freedom come the idea of responsibility and the scope of duty.

The best way of worshipping fate, if we may say so, is to exercise our freewill under the full sense of confidence in our

individual powers, so far as they can be carried, having regard to all the surrounding circumstances. Thus, we may be partial architects of our own fate. In other words, self-reliance is to be advocated, and that quality will evoke our best powers and show us to the best advantage. This confidence is proportioned to our physical and mental strength, which are due, in part, to our natural endowments and, in part, to the training, knowledge, character &c., that we have made our own. It may be thought that where fate is all, advice and exhortations to action have no place. This again is an error of thought and forgetting the wider sense of the word 'fate'. In that sense, laws both human and superhuman are included. Advice and exhortations, as the result of age, experience training &c., under the laws regulating man's life, have full place in the striking of results. Objectively speaking, they are part of or are included in, the ring of circumstances and influences which surround and determine the actions of man at every moment. The good influences and circumstances are productive of good results, in as much as they chime in with the aims of nature herself. Good actions are sure to find support in nature, if not at once, in due course. Character forms a constant and settled factor in the shaping of man's action. The self-reliance advocated is calculated to produce the best results, as the position of an army on a hill, or in some other place of vantage, and should be had with the full knowledge or consciousness of, and with due regard to, the limitations which beset the soul at any and every moment of its career of development. Thus speaking from the active or objective side, the highest sense of duty may be made to join hands with the devoutest worship of fate in its broadest sense. In other words, the freedom of the will may be exercised to the fullest extent, quite consistently with a reverence for the laws of nature. The one *need not* exclude the other and, from the side of fate, *does not* do so, except under an error of thought. If this is understood, there can be, and there ought to be, no danger of the fatalist (in its popularly accepted aspect of one who believes in fate in its limited sense) falling into inaction. The evil arises only when, overpowered by a sense of the mightiness of the forces of nature outside his own particular organism, man forgets that he is himself part of nature, and consequently ignores his liberty and responsibility. The evil arises also from the Karmist's chronic tendency to forget that, though the effect of his past actions or Karma determines or moulds his

present actions and enjoyments, he has that with him, his will, which can further modify or nullify those effects by present actions or Karma in the same way as it created his former actions. There is also another danger into which the unthinking Karmist is likely to fall, viz., of supposing that, because the sufferings of creatures are due to their past Karmas, it would be a sin to relieve them. This would be striking at the root of all humanity and charity and setting up charity-doers as the enemies of God. Surely, a just God could not have excluded hospitals and institutions for the relief of the really distressed from the category of well-meaning institutions and condemned the sufferers to never-ending misery. Nor could he have meant that the sufferers should not be enlightened as to the evil consequences of bad actions. God is not merely the punisher but also the corrector and the enlightener. A recognition of the dual facts of freedom and limitation, of liberty and responsibility, is essential to all sound action. Action under this healthy dual consciousness is the highest point of all wisdom.

I compared fate and freewill to two concentric circles or globes of which the smaller 'freewill' is part of the larger 'fate.' The sphere of fate, in its limited sense, is co-extensive with the sphere pervaded by the unmanifested spirit of nature or God. The spheres of existence occupied by sentient beings are also filled with the spirit of God, since God is omnipresent. In other words, there is a portion of the universal spirit which is manifested to the world as sentient beings, and another portion of it which is not so manifested. The whole spiritual universe, or the universe of activity, may therefore be divided for the sake of convenience into God manifested and God unmanifested. Man with his freewill occupies the manifested portion, and God occupies both the manifested and unmanifested portions. No conception of man and his freewill is complete without taking into consideration the fact that they are both parts of God and that they are subject to influences from the unmanifested portion of the universe. And no conception of God is correct or complete without taking into account the manifested portion of Him also, which is the totality of sentient beings including man. To put it figuratively, man works under God, and God works also through man. Thus self-reliance and reverence can go hand-in-hand. It is the alienation from the conception of man that he is part of nature or God, and the alienation from the conception of nature or God the fact that nature or God works also through man, that is a fruitful source of the errors, pitfalls and confusions that

usually arise in all controversies regarding the events and issues of the world. All the events of the world can be correctly interpreted only by taking into account *both these factors*, namely, the unmanifested and manifested portions of nature or God, that is again, God outside the sphere of sentient beings and God that works within sentient beings. Man should therefore be regarded as free to a certain extent, but not completely, in as much as his spirit is part of or under the guidance of the great spirit which fills the whole universe.

Some men are labouring under the notion that the unmanifested spirit is idle, or is simply in a passive state of perpetual bliss, not concerning itself with the affairs of man and other sentient beings, and manifesting its power only when any sentient beings have to be rewarded or punished. This is a deplorable error. God's spirit, as indeed all spirit, is ever active; nay, the very idea of spirit cannot be understood except in conjunction with activity. God's spirit clothes the plant with leaves, creates the bud, makes the bud bloom into the flower, and adds the fruit. God is ever manifesting Himself in the sentient world, His spirit always takes forms, passing ever from the unmanifested into the manifested condition, and is never at rest. So far from standing aloof from, or unconcerned about, the affairs of the world, He takes the most intimate interest every moment, not only in the affairs of creatures in general, but also in the particular affairs of every individual creature with an omnipresent eye. "Thou canst get three sparrows for a farthing; yet none of them is forgotten before the Lord." Any less conception of God is not in accord with His perfection. God works through man by means of hints and suggestions, laws and precautions, "shaping his ends, rough-hew them how he will." The rough-hewing may be said to be man's work through the instrumentality of his freewill, but the shaping or final consummation rests with God. This last is adjusted to the realisation of universal happiness and the progressive evolution of all created souls.

It has been already stated that the conception of God would not be correct or complete, unless it includes man and his freewill. Single acts of man may, to his narrowed vision, appear to proceed entirely from his freewill, but when human actions are viewed in great numbers, or when the combined or corporate action of a body of human beings is viewed, or again, when these actions are viewed as links in the chain of history, the guiding hand of Providence can be seen in them all. When taking a bird's eye view of human history, the single actions of individuals are seen to be lost in the larger channels of

human action which determine the course of history of the nation to which those individuals belong. The single acts are to be regarded only as dribblets and rills that swell the great river of human activity and progress in the pages of human history, or arcs of a mighty circle of good affecting the world. The fates of nations are thus determined. Lord Clive could never have dreamed of the momentous consequences that were to follow upon his single victory of Plassey. Nor could the distant consequences be regarded as the direct effects of the exercise of that individual will which guided him and his army to that battle-field. The obscure Dutchman who invented printing could never have dreamed what marvellous revolutions his invention, improved by other hands, was to effect in the world. James Watt could never have predicted the stupendous quantity of work that was to be turned out by the almost unlimited application of steam power in the world, nor that steam power was to be later on supplanted by electricity. Though we are apt and very justly, to give credit to Clive, to the Dutchman and to Watt for their individual efforts and achievements, yet we must not forget that the finger of Providence was within them all, pointing through them the path of progress which the world was to take in those directions. The same Providence may still point the way to further expansions in the line of progress. When viewed in this light, we shall see that the universal spirit works perpetually and indefatigably as well for individual as for common good, and is not to be regarded as in a state of idle blissfullness, unconnected and unconcerned with man and his destiny. We have further seen that man himself only represents a portion of the manifested spirit of the universe and is not really distinct from it, though apparently so.

Next, I have to deal with the question whether, if the phenomena of the universe are the result of the workings of natural laws, a supreme Governor of the universe is at all necessary and whether, even if God created the world as if it had been evolved by natural laws, He ever interfered with the action of those laws after creation. A writer in the *Positivist Review* states:—"To Cromwell, the Divine Ruler of the universe, instead of leaving the world to pursue its appointed course without interference, was ever present and active. His God and the Reign of Natural Law could not exist together. The two conceptions are incompatible." Now, the question is whether the two are *really* incompatible. To the mind of the man who believes that God has a separate existence, independent of the universe and independent of its laws, the two conceptions would, no doubt, be incompatible.

On the other hand, to the man who believes that the universe (physical, mental and spiritual) is an emanation or irradiation from God and that the laws form part of Him, the two ideas are *not* incompatible. The difficulty lies in realising the idea that God himself is Law, or rather a conglomeration of laws, physical, mental, moral and spiritual. The mistake lies *in separating Nature or the manifested phenomena from God. God, if he is omnipresent, must be everything, phenomena natural laws and all.* There can be nothing outside of Him. For the sake of convenience, or for the purpose of viewing Him in His best glory, convention restricts His existence to spiritual being. ‡ But this is no better than restricting the sphere of Napoleon's or Alexander's operations to his brain alone. Call the world God's kingdom, if you please; but His Kingdom is not really distinct from Him. Neither are His laws. *God pervades and is the whole world of spirit and matter.* Any less conception of Him does not become His omnipresence. We should not try to take His measurements by our own limited conventional measuring rods, and the apparent existence of evil in the universe should not make us shrink from identifying the universe with Him. The evils will find their explanations, or may prove only arcs of a gigantic circle of real good of which we are prevented from taking a complete view by the finiteness of our natures and powers. The *Maya* theory of illusion does not also commend itself, if it should stand for anything more than the phenomena of change.

In my humble opinion, therefore, natural laws form part of him, as the laws governing our mind and body form part of ourselves When we view the question in this way, we shall find that there is no necessity for God to interfere with the action of his own laws. He evolves himself, so to speak. The world evolves out of him. He governs the world. We form part of him; and he is within us and around us. His spirit connects all souls. Listen to what Emerson says:—"There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same He that is once admitted to the right of reason is made a freeman of the whole estate. What Plato has thought, he may think; what a saint has felt, he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man, he can under-

‡ This view should not be taken to clash with the Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy, as the latter view seems to be best understood by the masses and suits their mental vision. It is a division of the universe into *pathi*, *pasu* and *pasam*, each eternal. Though this is incompatible with God's omnipresence yet, considering its suitability to the ordinary mental vision, it may be passed over.

stand. Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent." One life, one spirit, one force (if you please) pervades the whole universe and is transformed or transmuted into the various natural forces that are found in it. Call it God, or Nature, or Supreme Intelligence, or the sum-total of natural laws, or the universal spirit or the Oversoul or Thought force, or Electricity, or the fountain-head of Electricity, or whatever else you please, for it is all these and more. These are only various phases of It or the result of a variety of ways in which It appeals to us. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." The dominion of fate is thus coextensive with the workings of this universal spirit, both manifested and unmanifested.

Though not directly bearing on the subject, I may be permitted to close the lecture by reproducing here what I wrote elsewhere about this spirit or force. It is ever present with us without letting us know it. It is present when you least suspect it. There is no escaping it. There is no shuffling it. It is the universal witness. It thinks with us. It feels with us. It baffles, our tricks and assists us in our good intentions. It unifies, vivifies and beautifies all. It purifies the heart. It replenishes the soul. It permeates and saturates the universe through and through, kindling, feeding and freeing all souls. It is seen by the spiritual eye. It is ever new and never old. It is all the old and the new, disappearing from one, now appearing in another. It is father, mother, child and grand child. It is the haven for our petty barks sailing over life's storm-haunted waves. It is the impregnable rock against which the waves of unbelief dash in vain and are shattered to pieces, to which humility may be safely chained and near which the anchor of faith may be safely dropped. It is the invisible thread which connects the spirit of all conscious beings from behind. It is the atmosphere inhaled and exhaled by the spiritual lungs within man, without which the higher part of the human organism could not live. It is the source whence the minds of Shakespeare, Emerson and Thiruvalluvar were derived. It is the awful and sublime Reality of which all other realities are but the shadows and manifestations, and of which the universe itself is but one radiation. It is the all-embracing circle of soul. It is the sight of the eye, the spring of eloquence in the heart, the radiance of the sun, the smell in the flower, the glowing colours of the rainbow, the sweetness of the sweet, the beauty of the landscape, the poetry of

the bards, the ravishment of music, the life-interest of the drama, and the essence of all that is good, high and happy in the universe. It is the light of all lights, the life of all lives, the form of all forms and the substance of all substances. It is the beginning, the culmination and the period of all knowledge. It is the effulgence of beauty, and the essence and the effervescence of love, which, in its various manifestations, quickens and invigorates life and generates hope and happiness. It is the beginning of all consciousness. It is the place to which all consciousness returns. It is the ever-appearing cause and effect and the common cause under-lying both. It is matter and mind and the common substratum of both It is the one Conscious Law which holds all laws, as it were, in solution. It is the unity of which everything else, seen or thought of, is the heterogeneous manifestation. It is the centre and soul of this universal frame, sending forth all things and drawing to it all things. It is the fountain-head of all wisdom, all justice, all mercy, all beauty, all power, all love. It is the ever-evolving, ever-sustaining and ever-absorbing Principle. It is the immortal, immeasurable, immaculate, invincible and infinite Presence.

T. LAKSHMANA PILLAI.

ENGLISH METRE.

By Prof. K. K. Bernard, M. A.

THE subject of English metre is caviarre to the generality of Indian students. The great majority of them, even of those who are shortly aspiring to the degree of Bachelor of arts, has no clear idea of English metre, its laws and requirements, its peculiar excellences, as well as its difficulties and limitations. The reasons for this state of things are various. In the first place, although a fair amount of English poetry forms part of his School and College curriculum, the chief aim of the student is directed to the understanding of the meaning of the poems, and not much attention (if at all) is paid to the poetic *form* and its distinctive colour. The student is scarcely to blame for this. Even the grammar books dismiss the subject of prosody with a few scanty remarks at the end,—which the student seldom reads. No doubt a College student of the third or fourth year's course knows the names Iambus, Trochee Anapaest &c., and would probably represent them by the conventional symbols xa, ax, xxa &c. He might also divide the simpler lines of verse presented to him into feet of these metres. But this stock of prosodic knowledge, as one who knows anything of English metre will readily admit, goes very little to a real appreciation of English verse forms. Again, a due appreciation of English poetry presupposes correct pronunciation and accentuation of English words; and we know from experience how many Indian students there are who cannot pronounce or accentuate English words correctly.

English metre differs fundamentally from classic metres—Latin, Greek or Sanskrit—in this, that in the latter quantity is the predominating and controlling element, whereas the former recognises very little of quantity. I shall return to this subject later, but I mention it here only to point out that most of the Indian Vernaculars, following Sanskrit prosody, rest their metres on a quantitative basis. Moreover, in these languages, as in Sanskrit, excellence in metre is regarded as consisting in a strict observance of the type of metre in which any verse is written; whereas in English poetry, any verse that rigidly conforms to a particular metre, say Iambic Pentametre, with the accents uniformly placed on the even syllables, would be regarded as unbearably monotonous. On the other hand,

it is the constant variation from this normal type, sufficient to produce a pleasing variety of pause and accent and rhythm, but not sufficient to destroy the fundamental character of the verse, that constitutes the beauty of English poetry. It takes the Indian ear, accustomed as it is to consider regularity of rhythm as the condition of excellence, a very long acquaintance with English poetry, to persuade itself to the contrary. And, just as many Indian ears are permanently deaf to the harmonies of western music so there are many Indians who cannot by any means appreciate the constantly varying cadences of some of the English poets. When the present writer's knowledge of English metres was limited to what the ordinary grammar books and college courses impart, he was under the impression that a wider study of the subject would discover some safe and unerring "rule of conduct" which would guide him in the correct scansion of English verse, and would enable him to find the unvarying principles underlying the practice of the poets. But further enquiry has only revealed to him the fact that there is very little agreement among the chief exponents of prosodic law; that there is not, and there never has been, formulated any set of rules of English prosody, and that the poets are mostly a law unto themselves, guided and controlled only by their intuitive sense of proportion and rhythm.

Critics and expounders of metrical laws are many. But they may be divided into two classes generally. The first, those who proceed from certain pre-conceived ideas of what is allowable and what is not in English metre, and who lay down their *a priori* laws for the guidance of poets,—laws which are often repudiated in practice by the poets themselves. The other, those who accept the usage of the best poets as the safest guide to the genius of the language and its capacities, and who base their rules on a study of those forms that have been found to be satisfactory and harmonious to the æsthetic sense of the poets.

To the first class belong Dr. Guest and Dr. Abbott. The former in his "History of English Rhythms", one of the earliest books on English prosody, has laid down certain rules which he considers should govern all English verse construction. Dr. Guest holds that "modern English metres should conform in the main to the rules of the Anglo-Saxon verse. Anglo-Saxon verse consists of certain sections bound together in pairs by alliteration.......... There are three pauses which serve to regulate the rhythm, *final*, *middle* and *sectional*. The two

former are necessary and essential, the third is exceptional. The final pause occurs at the end of a verse, the middle pause divides it into two sections, the sectional pause is found in the middle of one of these sections. As a general rule we may lay it down that the final and middle pauses ought always to coincide with the close of a sentence or clause. We never meet with a grammatical stop in the middle of a section......&c."

I shall not take up the time of the reader of this brief paper by adducing examples of lines where these rules are violated. Prof. Mayor has amply proved that the best poets, including Dr. Guest's model of correct versification, Pope, do not observe his laws. "There is hardly a single rule which he has laid down which is not in flat opposition to the practice of the poets of the last three centuries."

The other expounder of metrical laws on *a priori* principles is Dr. Abbott. His deep scholarship, patient research and careful analysis of metrical forms command our respect to whatever rules he lays down. Prof. Mayor says of them. "In its general outline, I believe this (his system of prosody) to be the true and natural system, giving technical expression to the practice of the best writers and readers of poetry." The only fault he finds with him is that Dr. Abbott is too much enamoured with a mechanical regularity and makes too little allowance for the freedom of English versification. I shall give a brief outline of part of his system of prosody, as given in "Abbott and Seeley's English Lessons for English People" Part III.

"In modern English poetry, metre is based upon accent and rhyme, a part or conjoined: but quantity and alliteration though secondary, yet exercise a considerable influence." With regard to accent, which he considers the basis of metre in English, he says: *accent* means a loud stress of voice. Accent in metre, if it fall on any syllable in a word, *must* fall on the principal word-accent. It *may* fall on syllables that have not a distinct word-accent. The following rules admit of no exceptions, but those due to contractions in pronunciation:—

1. *We can never have three consecutive clearly pronounced syllables without a metrical accent.*

2. *We cannot have two consecutive syllables in the same word metrically accented.*

3. *In polysyllables, metrical accent, if it falls on more syllables than one, falls on alternate syllables.*

Emphasis is a stress laid in speaking on monosyllables, or the

accented syllables of polysyllables, for the purpose of calling attention to the meaning.

Since three unaccented syllables cannot come together, any monosyllable however unemphatic, that comes between two unaccented (mono) syllables must receive an accent in dissyllabic metre: e. g.,

1. Oh wéep for Adonáis. *Thé* quick dréams.
2. Then tóre with blóody tálon thé rent pláin.
3. Make sátire á lampoón, and fíction líe.

From these examples we get another rule. *When two unemphatic monosyllables come together, and one of them receive the metrical accent, the other may be without the metrical accent.* In these instances it will be noticed that an unemphatic accent is followed by an emphatic non-accented syllable. By a similar rule, one or two emphatic syllables in trisyllabic metre are left unaccented after a metrical accent. Thus,

The wínds play no lónger and síng in the leáves.

The above are some of the *a priori* rules that Dr. Abbott lays down for the guidance of poets and poetry-makers. Let us judge their merits at the Court of practice.

In the first place, Dr. Abbott makes a distinction between *metrical* accent, and *word*-accent. According to his rule, *the* in lines (1) and (2) and *a* in (3) are metrically accented, whereas a good reader unacquainted with this fiction of metrical accents would give the least stress to these particles."—"As far as reading goes, accentuation on this principle becomes meaningless", as any syllable can have a *metrical* accent, which may mean no " loud stress of voice" as true accent should be, but only a shadow of a sound due to its position. That Dr. Abbott himself is not entirely satisfied with this theory, is shown by the way in which he scans several lines, so as to avoid the metrical accent falling on the articles &c: As,

(1) A devil, | a bor|n de|vil on | whose na|ture.

Here *born* is dissyllabised to avoid accent on the preceding *a*.

(2) Your breath | first kindled | the de|ad coal | of war.

(3) More needs she | the divine | than the | physi|cian.

In these examples, mono syllables are treated as dissyllables, and trisyllabic feet freely admitted, in order to avoid these very 'metrical accents.' Again;

How in | my strength | you please | for yo|u Ed|mund,

You is dissyllabised to avoid a final trochee.

So also:

Doth com|fort thee in | thy sle|ep live | and flour|ish
Of Lion|el Duke|of Clarence | the thi|rd son.

The mischief in such scannings is that Dr. Abbott starts with the *a priori* rule that in every foot the second syllable should receive the 'emphatic accent;' and in order to secure that result (i. e., avoid the metrical accent falling on such unemphatic particles like *the*, *a*, &c) he proceeds to dissyllabise words like *sleep*, *you*, *born*, *dead* &c. He may have secured his purpose, but he creates rhythm of peculiar harshness. Moreover, in lines which already contain eleven syllables (like the last two quoted) wherein is the necessity or reasonableness of adding one more, and that, by the reprehensible process of making monosyllables into dissyllables? It may be permissible in Dr. Abbott, with his weight of authority, to make such scansions, but in people of smaller learning it would be an unpardonable offence. What educative value would a system of scanning possess which ignored the natural and accepted accentuation and syllabification of words, in order to avoid certain doubtful metrical positions? If such things are necessary for metrical analysis, the student of English metre might well feel that the foundations are destroyed under him, and that he is fallen into bogs and quagmires where there is no firm foothold!

Enough has been said to shew that Dr. Abbott, in his eagerness to reduce every line to the normal standard of five feet, and to maintain intact his "laws" of accent, resorts to stratagems that cut the ground from under our feet. To add but one more instance:

Why then|I wi|ll. Fa|rewell|old Gaunt.

Here is a line of four feet, with a pause and change of thought in the middle. Cannot the actor be trusted to fill up the time of that one foot with the pause, (as he is intended to do, by the author) instead of dissyllabising *will* and *fare*? If such things are permissible, why all this bother?

So much for the views of the *a priori* school of metrists. I shall now proceed to give the views of some of the most prominent of the *a posteriori* school. The stand-point of these latter can be summed up in the single sentence of Prof. Saintsbury, the latest and not the least of them: "I should myself as soon think of teaching a rose to group and expand its petals, or to distil and diffuse its odour, as of teaching a poet to write poetry." But before doing so, it may be desirable to describe the more important of English metres and their variations. Taking the regular

sequences of accented and unaccented syllables according to some definite order as the basis of English verse, we get, according as the rhythm is ascending or descending (i e as proceeding from an unaccented to an accented syllable, or *vice versa*) the four simple kinds of metres, *ascending dissyllabic, descending dissyllabic, ascending trissyllabic, descending trissyllabic,*—commonly known as Iambic, Trochaic Anapaestic, and Dactyllic metres. These are the most important of English metres, and the only ones in which English verse is generally written.*

These four kinds of metre may occur in their unmixed forms, with or without the addition or omission of an unaccented syllable at the beginning or end of a (line or section). When the unaccented extra syllable occurs at the beginning of the line (or section) it is called an *anacrusis*: as,

With) bánner | ánd with | músic, with) sóldier | ánd with | príest.

When it occurs at the end of a line in Iambic metre, it is called the *Feminine* ending: as,

Beauti | ful Par | is, evil-hear | ted Paris.

The omission of unaccented syllables at the beginning or end of a line occurs chiefly in trissyllabic metres, and is known as *truncation*: as,

Slōw | ly and sād | ly we lāid | him dōwn.

— ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ
Mērrily | mērrily | shāll Ī live | nōw.

Then again there are the mixed species, where the verse law requires the mixture of the dissyllabic and trisyllabic metres. It must be noted that the Iambus and Anapaest are closely related, differing only in the number of unaccented syllables; so are the Trochee and Dactyl. Therefore Iambs and Anapaests are freely interchangeable, the first foot of an Anapaestic line often being an Iamb, and the last foot of a dactyllic line similarly being often a trochee as:

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* As, however, we shall have to make use of the names of some of the other classic metres in discussing the metre of particular lines, I subjoin them here for the convenience of readers:

Dissyllabic:	ᴗ ᴗ	Pyrrhicus.	Trissyllabic:	ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ	Tribrach.
				— ᴗ ᴗ	Dactyl,
	ᴗ —	Iambus.		ᴗ ᴗ —	Anapaest.
				ᴗ — ᴗ	Amphibrach.
	— ᴗ	Trochee.		ᴗ — —	Cretic.
				ᴗ — —	Bacchius.
	— —	Spondee.		— — ᴗ	Autibacchius
				— — —	Molossus,

That hóst | with their bá | nners at sún | set were séen.
Bríghtest and | bést of the | sóns of the | mórning.

Although accent is the most important factor in English metre, yet it is not the sole concern or instrument of the poet. Other devices, such as variations of pause, alliteration, rhyme, and quantity, come to the help of the poet in securing the varied harmonies that please the ear, and make poetry attractive. It will be the business of the metrist to enquire into and ascertain the laws that govern their usage in the practice of the best poets. Before we advert, ever so briefly, to these various aspects of the subject, we must go back to the most important and most contentious of them all,—accentual distribution and its laws.

Of all the metres described above, Iambic Pentametre unrhymed—the English *heroic* measure—is the most important. More than four-fifths of English poetry is written in it; and there is more uncertainty and difference of opinion about its laws than about any other.

Mr. A. J. Ellis says: An English heroic verse is stated to consist of ten syllables divided into five groups, each of which theoretically consists of two syllables, of which the second only is accented......... Practically many groups are allowed to consist of these syllables, two of them being unaccented.........It is necessary for an English verse of this description that there should be an accent at the end of the third and fifth group (foot), or at the end of the second and fourth; and if either of these requisites is complied with, other accents may be distributed almost at pleasure. The last group may also have one or two unaccented syllables after its last accent." At a later period, he lays down the following rules, somewhat different from the above: "There must be a principal stress on the last syllable of the second and fourth measures, or of the first and fourth, or of the 3rd and some other measure. There is also generally a stress upon the last syllable of the fifth measure; but if any of the three conditions above stated is satisfied, the verse, so far as stress is concerned, is complete, no matter what other syllables have a greater or less stress or length." Mr. Ellis goes on to elaborate a scheme of metrical analysis based on degrees of what he calls. *Force, length, pause, pitch and weight.* Of each of these nine degrees are distinguished, making 45 different varieties of stress for each individual syllable. Of this terribly elaborate scheme we need only say, with Prof. Mayor, that life is not long enough to carry it into effect.

Leaving that alone, Mr. Ellis's rules as to inversion of accent (trochaic substitution), wide though they be, do not still cover all

instances of verses whose rhythm is admissible; while on the other hand, they include some lines whose rhythm would be considered harsh and unsatisfactory. Thus:

Trémbling | spángles | sét in | her dárk | gauze véil

has final stress on the fourth and fifth feet only, and yet is acceptable to the ear: whereas,

Hárk there | is héard | soúnd as | of mán | gróaning

has final accent in the second and fourth feet, and yet the rhythm is unsatisfactory. Prof. Mayor is of opinion that the limit of Trochaic substitution is three out of five, if the final foot be iambic; or else, two out of five. Prof. Masson, the editor of Milton, holds that while the general formula of the heroic verse is 5 x a (x=unaccented, a=accented) each line seems to deliver into the ear a general 5 xa effect, the ways of producing this being various. What the ways are can only be ascertained by careful reading and scanning a sufficient number of specimens of approved blank verse. ....Sometimes a line will be found satisfactory to the ear, though only one or not even one, of its feet is of the normal type : e, g.

Scanda | lous or | forbid | den in | our law,
a x | x x | x a | x x | a a

Hail son | of the | Most High | heir of | both worlds
a a | x x | a a | a x | a a

With regard to excess of accent, Masson says; "I perpetually find in Milton a foot for which Spondee is the best name." "English blank verse admits a trochee, spondee or tribrach in almost any place of the line." The limit of this Spondaic substitution is even wider than of trochee, for, according to Mayor, four out of five feet may be spondee: *e. g.*,

Rōcks, cāves, | lākes, fēns, | bōgs, dēns, | shādes dīre | ŏf deāth.

Or, Sāy Mūse, | thēir nāmes | thĕn knōwn | whō fīrst | whō lāst.

Of trimetric feet, the Anapæst, as being closely allied to the Iamb, can be substituted in three out of five feet without changing the character of the line; dactyllic feet cannot come more than twice, in the first, and either the third or fourth feet. As to the occurrence of other feet, such as amphibrach, tribrach, cretic, antibacchius &c., there is difference of opinion. Many a line which, scanned in full, without any syllable being slurred, will give some of the above feet, can be made to give dissyllabic feet only if slurring and elision are admitted.

K. K. BERNARD.

DHARMA.*

BY MR. K. G. SESHA AIYAR, B. A., B. L.

I am free to confess at the very outset that my qualifications for dealing with such an important subject as Dharma are extremely limited. I am conscious that I have always found myself more at home in literature than in metaphysics, and indeed I have long subscribed to Mathew Arnold's creed that the human race would, as time passes, find an ever surer stay in poetry. For the discussion or elaboration of speculative subjects I possess little or no aptitude, and if in these circumstances I have ventured to speak about Dharma, it is only because my friends have today placed me in the unenviable position of the College Professor in the story whose lot it was not infrequently to lecture on subjects he had never studied. When in obedience to the wishes of my friends I agreed to address a few words on this subject, I had a faint idea that the Santi Parva of the Maha Bharata had always been regarded as the *locus classicus* or the consecrated formulary of the mysteries of Dharma. Naturally I turned to an English translation, by no means the best in point of diction and probably too in point of accuracy, as owing to my linguistic limitations I was incapable of availing myself of the wonderful Sanskrit original. I am sure all of you know the portion of the Maha Bharata that I refer to. It is the magic chapters where we are privileged to witness the great Bishma, laid on his dying bed that Arjuna's keen and pointed arrows had made for him, and surrounded by the Rishis and the remnants of the mighty kings that had so far survived the battle at Kurukshetra, discoursing, under express command from Sri Krishna, on Dharma to sorrow-laden Yudishtira. When I opened the translation at the place where those chapters begin, I realized with consternation that my attempt to deal with this great subject could be regarded only as an act of sacrilege. Devavrata or Bishma, whom Vasudeva declared to be the fittest to discourse on high Dharma, had never been guilty of the slightest transgression since his birth ; and his entire conduct in life had been in strict accordance with the injunctions of the Srutis. In asking him to discourse on the eternal duties, Kesava is made to say (I am quoting from the translation):—

* An address delivered at the opening of the Dharmalaya, Trivandrum.

"We have never heard of any one else who was so devoted to truth, to penances, to gifts, to sacrifice, to the science of arms, to the Vedas, and to the protection of those begging for the same; and who abstained from injuring any creature, who was so pure in conduct, so self-controlled, and so bent upon doing good to all creatures, and who was also so great a warrior as you. By your ascetic power you can create a universe. Remove now the sorrow of the eldest son of Pandu who is burning with grief on account of the destruction of his kinsmen. All the duties that have been laid down for the four orders about the four modes of life are well known to you. Everything again that is in the four branches of learning, in the four Hotras, as also those eternal duties that are laid down in Yoga and Sankya philosophy, the duties too of the four orders, all these, O son of Ganga, are known to you. The duties declared by the Vedas and by wise men are all well known to you. All the scriptures treating of duty and practice are centred in your memory. Except you, there is no other person that can dispel the doubts that may arise regarding the subjects of knowledge studied in the world. With the help of your intelligence, do you, O prince of men, drive the sorrow felt by the son of Pandu. Persons endued with so great and such varied knowledge live only for solacing those whose minds have been stupefied." This is the description of Bishma's right to speak on Dharma, that flowed from one whose lips were the lips of God. I read further on this fascinating scene, and I soon became convinced that I had not even the qualities necessary in one who would inquire about Dharma. For, this unique teacher of hoary antiquity—and Bishma should have lived at least 30 centuries ago, as nobody has yet tried to bring the Maha Bharata war nearer to us than the 10th Century B. C.—has at the very outset of his elevating discourse, described for us in 6 verses, what the pupil should be like who would be taught about Dharma. He says:— " Let the son of Pandu, who is endued with intelligence, self-restraint, Brahmacharya, forgiveness, righteousness, mental vigour and energy question me. Let the son of Pandu, who always by his favour or good offices honours his relatives and guests and servants and dependents, question me.

Let the son of Pandu who is settled in truth, charity, penances, heroism, peacefulness, cleverness and fearlessness, question me.

Let the pious son of Pandu, who would never commit a sin actuated by desire of pleasure or profit or from fear, question me.

Let the son of Pandu who is ever truthful, forgiving, endued

with knowledge, and attentive to guests and who always makes gifts to the pious, question me.

Let the son of Pandu, who always celebrates sacrifices and studies the Vedas and satisfies the rules of morality and duty, who is ever peaceful and has heard all mysteries, question me."

There we have a modest account of the man who may seek to understand the mysteries of Dharma or who may claim to be worthy to inquire about it! I am painfully conscious that I do not possess and I have not developed these essential qualities, in any degree. Thus neither to discourse about Dharma nor to inquire even humbly into its mysteries do I possess the necessary mental or moral equipment. In these circumstances the temptation is irresistible to ask you to study for yourselves, to read, mark and inwardly digest at the earliest possible opportunity, if you have not already done so, Bishma's wonderful discourse, and try to profit by its high moral worth and grandeur. That discourse after giving in detail the rules of Raja-dharma—the duties of kings and subjects—goes on to describe with a fulness that is truly wonderful, the duties of the four orders and the four modes of life and the duties enjoined as appropriate to every stage of evolution of human life. I know there is always an impatience evinced when we now talk of the four orders. Some regard caste as the mark of the beast, and these perhaps may be tempted to ask why we should trouble ourselves in the 20th century with an account of duties and practices intended to regulate a social system of an ante-deluvian period, which is essentially an anomaly and an anachronism in this age of rationalism and progress. Perhaps so; but I shall only add that there are those even outside India and outside the pale of orthodox Hinduism, who hold that the system of caste which is the distinctive feature of Hindu society has solved several of the social problems that threaten to undermine Western civilization, and the system should be maintained, of course with the latter-day abuses that are interwoven with it eliminated, if India would set an example to the world of an ideal social state. In any case, it is the system which the ancient sages considered best for the fifth race—the Pancha-janas or Aryans—and in its early days it undoubtedly ensured order, progress and general happiness as no other system has done. It may or may not suit the present condition of society where so many dis-integrating forces are at work--forces which a writer describes as "the evil brood of Ahamkara wedded to the personal self instead of to the supreme self." Human society is dynamic, and for a right

understanding of the progress of society, students of social polity cannot afford to be ignorant of the inimitable exposition of Dharma by Bishma. Perhaps on studying it you will conclude that the exposition is for all time, and that even in the 20th century with its dominant ncte of reason, its ideals of fraternity, equality and liberty, its almost vulgar impatience of restraint, and intolerance of social difference, Bishma's eloquent words expounding the general and special duties of the four castes have a deep and abiding significance. Perhaps you will even conclude, as many others have concluded, that if we could rise above the influence of pride, exclusiveness, selfishness and follow on the path laid out by Bishma, our evolution would quicken. That is the view expounded by Mrs. Besant in her admirable lectures on Dharma; and I would particularly commend to you the first of those lectures—the lecture on 'Differences' which is a rational presentation of the subject which should satisfy even the typical 20th century reader. If you are not satisfied by this appeal to Mrs. Besant's account, I shall invite your attention to the opinion of an acknowledged man of science, who cannot be accused of any partiality for the caste system of India—Professor Karl Pearson. In his perfatory essay to the XXXII Volume of the Encyclopædia Britannica, on "The Function of Science in the Modern State," he makes the following remarks about the significance of class and caste. He observes:—"Caste and class may be exaggerated so much that they do far more harm than good, but to a certain extent they may serve for differentiating workers within the community. The nation stands equally in need of its ploughman, its craftsman, its traders, its brain-wrokers and its leaders; and it is desirable to have some preliminary classification of what work an individual is best suited for. While, on the one hand, it is most important that all capacity which will be of special social service in performing a particular function shall find that function within its reach, it is on the other hand, not only undesirable, but impossible, to subject every individual in the nation to a test of fitness for every possible calling. With rough practical efficiency a man's work in life is settled by his caste or class. This is not so undesirable as it might at first sight appear; it is a largely unconscious differentiation of the nation into workers of different types, who marry within their caste, and—if we remember how few generations are needful for a special human group to breed true—thus preserve to a large extent their special usefulness. It is cruel to the individual, it serves no social purpose, to drag a man of only moderate intellectual power from

the hand-working to the brain-working group; yet this seems too often the result of the present system. If there be a moderately capable worker, the state should strive in the first place, that he should be trained to better craftsmanship. Do not let it assume that he will turn out a Faraday because he shows some relative capacity. In at least nine cases out of ten disappointment will be in store for the state if it does. Let there be a ladder from class to class, and occupation to occupation, but let it not be a very easy ladder to climb; great ability will get up, and that is all that is socially advantageous. We have to remember, for example, that the middle class in England, which stands there for intellectual culture and brainwork, is the product of generations of selection from other classes and of in marriage. A hundred men of this class, quite apart from training and tradition, will provide a greater percentage of men capable of doing brainwork, than a hundred men from the farming class or a hundred craftsmen. These in their turn (if we do not regard training and tradition, though there is no reason why we should not) will produce a larger proportion of men suited for colonists or for the workshop than the former, and for precisely the same reasons, long selection and inmarriage. Again we assert the gradation of the body social is not a mere historical anomaly; it is largely the result of long-continued selection, economically differentiating the community into classes roughly fitted to certain types of work, and here we reach the fundamental principle in the education of a community: the education must be specialized for each individual class of workers—all intelligence must not be driven through the same mill. A harmonious system of education differentiated to class function and class intelligence must be at the basis of national fitness, i. e., the readiness of each group in the community to do its specialized work efficiently. Let there be a ladder, then, that indisputable capacity may climb to the place where it is most wanted; but the nation needs that the great bulk of its members shall work at the same tasks as their forefathers, only with increased intelligence and more highly developed craftsmanship." This is the voice of dispassionate modern science; and how wonderfully like the voice of the much-abused Manu does it sound—Manu who established a model polity, an ideal social order, a really typical state! The holy word of Sri Krishna in Bhagavad Gita:—

I am he
Made the four castes and portioned them a place
After their qualities and gifts.

announces the universality of the four great divisions of human society. " The four castes were emanated by me, by the different distribution of the energies and actions;" said Sri Krishna; and this distribution modern sience urges is inevitable for national efficiency. There can, therefore, be no harm in your spending some time at leisure in studying Bishma's exposition of the Dharmas of the four orders and castes. The chances are you will profit by such study both spiritually and otherwise. The first thing I shall ask you to notice is that there are certain Dharmas which Bishma enumerates as common to all the four orders. In verse 7 of Chapter LX of Santi Parva, Bishma observes: " The control of anger, truthfulnes of speech justice, forgiveness, chastity, purity of conduct, avoidance of quarrel, simplicity and maintenance of dependents-these are the nine duties which all the four orders should follow. These are eternal duties binding on all the four stages of life, without distinction." Thus Marcus Aurelius says: " Show those qualities which are altogether in thy power, sincerity, gravity, endurance of labor, aversion to pleasure, content with thy portion and with few things, benevolence, frankness, magnanimity." So again Confucius tells us: " Ponder righteousness and practise virtue. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy are universally binding; gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness and kindness constitude virtue." In noticing the distinctive duties of each caste as laid down in the books, we instinctively turn to the holy teaching that the Divine Krishnan gave to his favourite Arjuna. In the third book of the Gita, Sri Krishna declares: "Better one's own Dharma though destitute of merit than the Dharma of another well-discharged. Betttr death in the discharge of one's own Dharma; the Dharma of another is full of danger." This is no arbitrary advice. Take, as an illustration, the human body. The perfection of the body does not depend on every cell doing the work of every other cell, but in each doing its own appointed work. Shall the brain attempt to do the work of the heart and the lungs the function of the digestive organs? The universe can develop only if each part went along the path marked out by the law of its life. All life in the world is not at the same stage of development. There are differences in the stages of manifestation and there seould therefore be also differences in the laws applicable to each stage. Hence the caste Dharmas. Coming to the exclusive duties of each caste, let us harken to the divine words of Sri Krishna again. In the first book of Gita, Sri Krishna says;—

The work of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas,
And Sudras, O thou slayer of thy foes!
Is fixed by reason of the qualities
Planted in each.
A Brahmin's virtues, Prince:
Born of his nature, are serenity,
Self-mastery, religion, purity,
Patience, uprightness, learning, and to know
The truth of things which be.
A Kshatriya's pride,
Born of his nature, lives in valour, fire,
Constancy, skilfulness, spirit in fight,
As of a lord of men.
A Vaisya's task,
Born with his nature, is to till the ground,
Tend cattle, venture trade.
A Sudra's state,
Suiting his nature, is to minister.

And the same Divine voice after teaching us the Dharma of each caste, reiterates the warning at the close of the immortal Gita but with a slight variation. Says Sri Krishna once again: "Better is one's own Dharma though destitute of merits, than the well executed Dharma of another. He who doeth the Karma laid down by his own nature incurreth not sin." I desire to invite your attention to the expression 'born of his own nature' in Sri Krishna's exposition of the caste Dharmas. The Karmas of the various castes have, says the Lord, been distributed according to the Gunas born of their own natures. Here we alight on the signification of Dharma. I know the expression Dharma is usually derived from a root Dhr=to support; Dharma being that which supports the world or the universe. It is the same idea that Wordsworth in his well-known 'Ode to Duty' has enshrined in the familiar lines:

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most Ancient heavens, through thee,
Are fresh and strong.

A far greater writer than Wordsworth, Vyasa, in narrating the story of Savitri in the Maha Bharata, makes that royal lady express the same sentiment in her colloquy with Yama.

Rests the world upon the virtue of the righteous, mighty lord!
Their austerities both order and stability afford.

On the righteous, gracious Yama ! past and future both depend.
By their truth alone the planets in their lonely orbits wend.

I believe, however, that Dharma may also be referred to another well-known root, from which early names for law are derived in more than one language. I mean the root *Dha*, to set or appoint, and from this is derived perhaps the earliest name yet known for law the term *Dhaman* which occurs in the Rig Veda itself. Dhaman and Dharma may not improbably be derived from the same root *Dha*, and then Dharma will mean that which is set, appointed or determined. Understanding thus the term Dharma, we will be in a position to grasp the very root of the mystery of Dharma. A little thought will convince us that at one and the same time there are, in a universe, germs of various ages and stages of development. There are the germs that make the elemental kingdoms, the germs that form the mineral kingdom, those that evolve as the vegetable world, those that develop into animals and those that constitute humanity; and the terms of each succeeding class have a longer stretch of evolution behind them than those of the preceding class. If thus each great class has a manifest diversity as to its beginning in time, each separated individual life has also its innate difference of nature. As Mrs. Besant explains: "There is one life in all, but the stage of enfoldment of a particular lifedepends upon the time through which it has been separately evolving. There you grasp the very root of our problem one life, undying, eternal, infinite as to its source and goal; but that life manifesting itself in different grades of evolution and at different stages of unfoldment, different amounts of its inherent powers showing forth according to the age of the separated life. Those are to the two thoughts to grasp;' and grasping them we can easily appreciate Mrs. Besant's definition of Dharma as the "inner nature of a thing at any given stage of evolution, and the law of the next stage of its unfolding." Its nature marks the stage it has reached in evolution; then comes what it must do to evolve further along its road. Hence the divine teaching of the Gita;

> Whoso performeth diligent, content—
> The work alloted him, whate'er it be,
> Lays hold of perfectness.

To the same effect is the injunction in the New Testament: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do. do it with all thy might." Perfection can be reached only by following one's own Dharma, which is the law

of the unfolding life; and for the proper unfolding of the life, we should naturally perform our natural duty-the duty appropriate to the stage in evolution our Jivatman has reached, and submit in patience to the law, which will in time bring within our reach and render ours the Dharma that more highly evolved souls now have. Hence the injunction that our own Dharma is better for us than the well-executed Dharma of another, which is not yet in the line of our unfolding life. No doubt, like the case of Michael Faraday instanced by Professor Karl Pearson, there are those who though born in an inferior caste are as the result of their Karma able to quicken their evolution, and it is of these that Manu speaks when he says: 'The Sudra becomes a Brahmana (by conduct). Know this same (rule to apply) to him who is born of the Kshatriya or of the Vaisya!' So again the Bhagavatha: "What is said as to the marks of conduct indicative of a man's caste, if those marks are found in another designate him by the caste of his marks." It is the conduct, the possession and practice of spiritual qualities that signifies. As the Smrti says, "the Vedas do not purify him who is devoid of good conduct." Learning alone does not quicken evolution. Hence we find among our canonized saints persons of all castes, Panchamas included, to whom even the proud Brahmin unhesitatingly offers adoration.

The central truth that we should grasp is that perfection in evolving life is impossible unless we follow our own Dharma, which consists in performing the duty appropriate to the stage in evolution our soul has reached. "Let men of all ranks," said Plato, "whether they are successful or unsuccessful, whether they triumph or not, let them do their duty and rest satisfied." The thing for us to remember then is every man has his appointed duties to perform. Obedience to duty, at whatever cost or risk, is the very essence of social as of spiritual order. Civilized life were impossible if each man lived for himself alone; and for harmonious social life, it is essential that humanity should be actuated by a spirit of service. Hence it is that the Dharma Sastras declare that service is the one great duty of the typical Sudra. From the stand-point of external liberty, the Sudra's life is easy, with no restriction as to food or amusement, place of residence or form of livelihood. He has not the responsibilities, the burdens that the Sastras place on the other castes; but like the other castes, the Sudra has also to

practice the duty of service. In the social system of the Hindu, the responsibility increased with the superiority of the caste, and the individual's duty was to subordinate himself more and more to the community. The dominant note of Indian society is the note of service, and this is a duty that is cast on all alike—from the highest to the lowest. Whether we accept the orthodox exposition on Dharma contained in our books, or not, I am sure we can all of us accept the ideal of service as the ruling ideal of life. The Roman definition of gentility, viz, "those only are genteel whose ancestors have never served," will fail to commend itself to anybody now. In the practice, therefore, of service, we will be practising Dharma; for we will then be doing one of our essential duties. Every man has a duty to discharge, a service to do to himself, to those near him, to humanity aud to the lower animals. It is essential that we should perfect our character by the assiduous cultivation of the practice of service and thus train ourselves for the better discharge of our duty. There is not a moment of our life when an opportunity does not present itself to us to perform some act of self-denial, or self-sacrifice, some little act of kindness; when if we are so minded we can give our time, our strength, our soul for the relief and benefit of our fellow creatures. How true and noble are the words of Wordsworth, when he writes:—

> The best portion of a man's life,
> His little nameless, unremembered acts,
> Of kindness and of love.

This opportunity of doing good we always have, of doing our duty in secret, without advertisement, without the sight of men; and shall we not profit by it? Shall we not try steadily and silently by the unostentatious and unobtrusive performance of our Dharma, our essential duty, to make the world better, happier? No good-action, however small, is ever lost.

> There shall never be one lost good. What is good shall be as before.
> The evil is null, is naught; is silence implying sound.
> What is good shall be good, but for evil so much good more.
> On the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven a perfect round.

The best products of our life are our noble actions, and their value lives even after we have ceased to exist. Whenever we get an opportunity of doing some act of service, let us not be afraid of what

Thoreau calls the tyranny of opinion; let us promptly do our duty; and we shall have thereby enriched our Dharma. And if we are unable to do positive acts of service, let us at least desist from doing disservice or harm; for even by practising negative benevolence we can contribute to our evolution along right lines. Hearken to what an ancient Tamil poet has said in *Pura Nanuru*.

O ye of age, with sunken cheeks o'ergrown
With stiff, grey hair like spine of sail-fish sharp,
Of what avail your years unwisely lived
If at the hour when death's relentless hand
Threatens to mow you down with his sharp scythe,
Ye could but whine and crouch, and quake with fear?
Mend ye your lives ere it becomes too late!
Though ye to others active good deny,
Desist from doing harm. The sages prize
Such negative benevolence as well.
For even this leads one to righteous ways.

Yes; let us at least practice negative benevolence; for otherwise our life will become like the despairing man's vision of the universe in one ef Tennyson's poems.

A fiery scroll written over with lamentation and woe.

Even the active desistance from doing harm will kill out the beast in us; and as we climb the heights of life, 'climb to the snows of age' we will in sooth be 'blessed with a glimpse of a height that is higher.' We shall slowly yet surely realise the beauty of recognizing service as the dominant ideal of our life. For after all life has its duties and each self is only one 'slight ripple on the boundless deep; feeling itself 'evermore one with the boundless motion of the deep': and for the very fulfilment of its function it has to blend its motion in harmony with that of other selves. We must recognize the existence, deep down in the hearts of all men, of a great duty of justice and charity, which in the fulness of time will compel each to live not for himself but for others. In the words of Maeterlinck, "*quand le soleil est entre dans la conscience du sage, comne il fant espérer gu'il entrera un jour dans la conscience de tons les homnes. On n'y distingue plus gu'un seul devoir gui est de faire le moins de mal et le plus de bieu possible, et d'aimer les autres comne on s'aime soi-meme.*" (When the sun has entered into the consciousness of the wise man, as we may hope it will some day enter into the consciousness of all men, no duties will be discovered

therein but one alone which is that it behoves us to do the least possible harm and the utmost good, and love others as we love ourselves). When that day comes, as surely it must, then

> Shall all men's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
> Through all the circle of the golden year.

K. G. SESHA AIYAR.

THE ARABIAN CIVILISATION AND MEDICAL SCIENCE.*

By Dr. S. K. Roy, M. B. C. M., L. R. C. P., L. R. C. S.

THE nomadic tribes of the Arabian peninsula, accustomed as they were to a life of restless wandering and to unceasing campaigns and forays, set forth for the purpose of subduing the world. The attractions of art and science were far from their thoughts. Of these things they knew only as much as transient relations with the neighbouring peoples had taught them. Arabian literature consisted of certain heroic poems in which as Goethe says "the love of home, the greed of fame, courage and an unappeasable thirst for revenge" were the subjects of song "tempered by the woes of love, by charity and sacrifice."

The "Koran," chapters of which lying scattered about, scrawled on palm leaves, pieces of leather, flat bones or even entirely entrusted to the memory of the faithful, Abu Baker was the first to collect and Othman to arrange in the existing order, laid the foundation of Arabic language. The Koran was the religious and the civic law book of the followers of Islam, was read and spread wherever the doctrines of Mohamud found believers and with it the Arabic language extended from country to country.

Gradually a rich literature and a flourishing civilisation sprang from it, embracing nearly one-half of the earth as known at that time. The Hindus in the east, the Goths in Spain, the Armenians and Tartars on the Caspian and the Ethiopians on the coast of the Red Sea adapted with their religion the language of the Arabs.

These various nations retained each its own language for national intercourse which, while differing from Arabic literature in the form of the characters used, breathed in its contents the same spirit and the same mode of thought.

The Arabian people probably contributed but little to what may be called Arabian culture. The roots of this must be sought among the Persians, the Greeks of Asia Minor and of Alexandria and in India. Nearly all the peoples subdued by the Arabs took part in its development from the pillars of Hercules in the West to the Sea of darkness in the East. During the first decade of their appearance as prominent actors in the world's history, they were so much occupied with quarrels

* An address recently delivered at the Calcutta University Institute.

among their rulers and wars of conquest that they had little time for the arts of peace.

As soon as the political dominion was secured under the dynasty of the house of Omnieyah, higher intellectual aspirations manifested themselves. The Caliph Moawiyah, who took up his residence at Damascus, founded schools, libraries and observatories there. He invited learned men of foreign lands, especially the Greeks, to come to his court and gave them important works to carry out; even the mosques were built under the direction of Greek architects.

Greek culture reached the Arabs partly from Alexandria, partly through Syria and Persia. Medicine followed the same routes. In the 7th century numerous medical schools existed in Alexandria in which instruction was imparted according to the doctrine of Galen. Among the teachers of Medical Science there was Alkinani, a Christian doctor of Arabian origin. He seems to have been the chief agent in bringing it about that medical studies and teaching were transferred from Alexandria to Antioch and Harran.

About the same time lived the Greek doctor Theodocus who took up an influential position as body physician of Hedkadak, the sanguinary governor of Irak, and as an author he won approval for his dietaries and as teacher he trained numerous pupils who became celebrated doctors. Prince Kaled Ben Yarid who had been taught in medicine by Marianees, a Christian monk, caused works on medicine, alchemy and astronomy to be translated from Greek into Arabic by the elder Steppanas, a Greek of Alexandria.

These were the first translations from a foreign tongue, which were made under the rule of Islam. Greek literature had found many friends and admirers in Asia Minor where Hellenism had ever since the time of Alexander Great possessed an important influence which it was able to maintain under the political changes of the Roman period.

Learned Nestorians who carried on teaching as a profession in the school at Edessa translated the writings of Aristotle from Greek into Syriac. Even at an earlier date Syriac translations of the New Testament and other Theological works had been prepared.

The Nestorians continued this meritorious work when they founded educational establishment in Persia and with much success at the school of Gondisapur. They were by no means the only people engaged in such work. Members of other religious societies and sects distinguished themselves in a similar way.

The numerous Jewish men of learning who had settled in Syria and Persia were the means of bringing about an acquaintance with Hebrew culture and in addition must have contributed to an increased extension of Greek literature especially in the domain of medicine. The system of teaching among the Jews was admirably organised and their high schools at Telurias in Palestine, at Sepphoris and Nisibis in Syria, and at Sura and Pumbeditha in Persia acquired great fame.

By the rendering of Greek works into the Syriac, Hebrew and Persian languages, the study of these was put within easier reach of the Arabs. The mutual relations of kinship among these tongues facilitated the translation of the compositions from them into Arabic. This pursuit was systematically exercised and conducted under the Abbassides.

Al Mansur, the second Caliph of this line and founder of the New Capital of Bagdad, charged his body-Physican George Bachits Chica with the translation of medical works from Greek into Arabic. According to Hadji Khalfa he is said to have sent envoys to Constantinople to fetch the writings of Euclid and works on natural science. One of his successors Haroun-al-Raschid, contemporary of Emperor Charlemagne, imposed as the condition of peace after the defeat of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus that manuscripts of Greek literary masterpieces should be delivered up to him.

The treasures of this kind also, which fell into his hands at Ancyra and other Greek towns as well as on the island of Cyprus, were to him welcome prizes of war He commanded that they should be translated into the Arabic language. This prince erected an establishment for translating, where works were rendered into Arabic from foreign tongues. To this end he brought together a great number of learned men acquainted with various languages and made inquiries about the authors and writings in the Greek, Persian Chaldæan and Egyptian languages, many of which were known to himself.

He sent many of his servants to Syria, Armenia and Egypt to buy the books indicated and they brought together immense loads of them. And now Al Mamun caused the useful books such as dealt with medicine, physics, astronomy, music, cosmography and chronology to be selected, and appointed Younmes as superintendent of the translators from the Greek. For Persian literature he appointed Mahan and Mesui. These and many other learned

men translated the medicine of Galen and all the works of Aristotle. From Byzantine Emperors Al Mamun obtained a number of Greek maunscripts, the learned Photins who lived for a long time at the Court of Bagdad transmitting them to him.

The Hindu works such as the treatise on poisons by Chanak and the Ayur-veda of Susruta and Charaka were translated first into Persian and then into Arabic. The Indian doctors who like Mankah and others had settled in Bagdad, rendered in this way important services.

Thus too certain literary productions of the Chaldus found their way to the Arabs.

Attention and care were even in the earliest periods of Islam devoted to medicine as Abulfarag says. And yet the Arabs made but little progress in this domain and no discoveries of primary importance. This is owing to the absence, in their nation of an independent development of medical or of any other science. Hence sprang also that unlimited belief in Authority which both deterred them from testing the accuracy of scientific results, as received by them, and also took away from them all courage for independent investigation. And then came social and religious prejudices, which nipped in the bud every attempt which was made in this direction.

Anatomy and physiology remained, therefore, essentially in the same place they had reached under Galen.

The dissection of human subjects being forbidden by the religious creed of the Mahomedans, any increase in anatomical knowledge was not to be thought of. Incidental observations, as those made by Abdel-Letif on the occasion of an epidemic in Egypt, in which by the examination of the skulls of the dead he succeeded in correcting numerous anatomical mistakes of Galen, formed an exception to the rule. Anatomical literature was limited to abstracts and short compendiums founded upon the works of Galen.

In the same way his physiological theories were slavishly followed. Even the promising results, which physics and chemistry arrived at in the way of experiment, produced scarcely any reform in this matter. Students were not in the position to make them thoroughly profitable for the study of human physiology and failed to apply these methods of enquiry to that science.

The Arabs manifested greater independance in practical medicine. Their numerous writings upon the subject are certainly also dependent upon the works of the ancients and consist for the most part

of extracts, commentaries and translations of the same; but here and there we do find an independent observation, a personal experience which serves to show that the author was master of the subject and was in a position to advance the knowledge of it. The scientific work accomplished by such men as Bhares, Ali Abbas, Abul Kasim, Avicenna, Avenroar, Averroes, Maimonides Ibu Ex-Beithar, Oseibia and others holds an honourable position in the history of medicine, and deserves recognition all the more, inasmuch as the authors lived at a time, when the development of medicine was nowhere making any progress.

The Arabian doctors gave great attention to the examination of the body of the patient. They noted all the symptoms of disease but attached most importance to the character of the pulse and the peculiarities of the urine.

They attained to a remarkable ability in prognosis. They paid a fitting attention to dietetics and enlarged the pharmacopœa by the addition of numerous remedies. They were zealously anxious to discover the causes of disease and obtained some success in this.

Special pathology has to thank the Arabian doctors for many contributions. They gave valuable information as to the causes and character of certain diseases, for example, malignant epidemics, small-pox, measles, consumption, face-ache, etc. Operative surgery lost ground among the Arabs.

The neglect of Anatomy and the dislike of any interference with the human body which is attended with bleeding were to blame for this. Caustics and cauteries took the place of knife. Where surgeons incised before they now were satisfied with cauterising and burning. Even Abul Kasim deplored the decline of surgery. "The operative art" he writes "has disappeared from among us almost without leaving any trace behind. Only in the writings of the ancients do we find some reference to it, but these, by bad translations, by errors and alterations have become nearly unintelligible and useless".

Cauteries were the most frequently-used and most important instruments for the treatment of wounds. The hot iron was recommended for the arrest of bleeding, besides compression, the application of cold, and the ligature. The use of heated instruments in surgery was brought to a high stage of development by the Arabian doctors. In contradistinction to the use of cauteries, the art of operative surgery receded into the background and was unable to maintain

that stage of perfection which it had reached under the surgeons of the Roman Empire.

Amputation was ventured upon only in the case of forearm or leg but never in the upper arm or thigh. The bleeding accompanying the amputation Abul Kasem arrested by styptics and cauteries. He does not mention a single word about tying the vessels.

Tracheotomy was no longer practised in his time. He only knew it from the descriptions of the ancients. Avenroar performed the operation on a goat with the object of observing the result. Lithotomy and Lithotripy were described by Abul Kasem. Moses Maimonides improved the method of cirumcision and introduced several precautionary measures.

In the treatment of fractures and dislocations, the approved principles of the doctors of antiquity were pursued. Avicenna recommended the reduction of the dislocated humerus by direct pressure.

Cataract was removed by depression of the lens into the vitreous humour and its extraction was considered, if not impossible, at least very dangerous. Abul Kasem alludes to the curing of cataract, by suction and remarks that this procedure was practised in Persia.

So too the opthalmic surgeon Isa Ben Ali makes mention of this method of operating. A manuscript of his work gives on the margin an illustration of the hollow needle used for this purpose. Canamusali, who frequently performed this operation, made a preliminary incision in the cornea so that the hollow needle could be more easily introduced.

Midwifery was the business of midwives who rendered the required help in normal confinements and even undertook obstetric operations. The strict seclusion of women agreed to by the custom of society prevented doctors occupying themselves with the practice of this kind. They had only occasional opportunities in this respect; in their writings they concerned themselves chiefly with advising the midwives what remedies to employ for the relief of women seeking their aid and with giving them counsel in the performance of certain operations.

One pleasing symptom is the active interest, which the Arabian doctors took in the history of their science. The works of Jlen Dschaldschol and of Ibu Abu Oseibia form a priceless source of information. The taste for history which was instilled into the Arabs in their education induced them to adorn their writings with a mu ltitude

of quotations through which many important matters have been saved from oblivion.

Even in the earliest ages of Islam elementary schools were universally erected near the mosques, in which children learned to read the Koran. To this was added later on the reading of other compositions, besides Grammar and instruction in writing. Attendance at school began in the sixth year of age. Religion formed the basis of the higher training as well as the more elementary. The higher teaching institutions too were at first in connection with the mosques.

During the first centuries any one might act as a teacher without being obliged to show his qualifications; from the teachers of theology and law only was it demanded that they should give account of their own education by a teacher of publicly recognised ability in the branch of knowledge, they professed. Many teachers carried on some other calling as well.

The teachers of medical science were no doubt in most cases skilled as practical doctors. The lectures being gratis, it was natural that teachers not possessed of private means should be careful to get their living by other pursuits. Many supplied the students with board and lodging, in order to earn, by the presents and money they received from them, something towards defraying their expenses.

The "House of wisdom" founded by the Caliph Hakim Bhuirillah in 1105 at Cairo exhibited in many respects the character of a University. There medicine was taught in conjunction with other sciences, and amongst the well-paid teachers who were appointed to the instruction were not only theologians, grammarians, philosophers, and lawyers, but also mathematicians, astronomers and doctors. Moreover it was permitted to non-Mohamedans for instance, Jews and Christians, to attend the lectures which were given there and to make use of the library belonging to the institution which filled 18 rooms.

The study of medicine was conducted in various ways. Whoever wished to devote himself to the medical calling could acquire the special knowledge by placing himself under the personal guidance of a senior doctor of experience or else in the medical schools connected with many hospitals. In the "House of Wisdom" the theoretical subjects were dealt with, whereas practical knowledge was acquired principally in the hospitals. Under the rule of Islam the first hospital for the sick was erected in the year 707 by Caliph Welid Ben Abdel Malik who took great care that travellers without means if they fell ill should receive medical assistance. He appointed doctors to the hospitals and

defrayed their expenses; he commanded that lepers should be shut up so that they should not go into the streets and provided for their wants and also for the blind men.

At a later period hospitals and infirmaries were erected in all the larger towns, owing their foundation to pious legacies. The majority of them served also for medical teaching. The arrangements existing in the medical school at Gondisapur and in the medical teaching establishments connected with the hospitals of the Nestorians were taken for a pattern. The hospital doctors worked here as teachers of medicine and gave their pupils instructions in the various branches of medical science. The hospital at Gondisapur which for many generations was under the directions of members of Bachtischna family, maintained its good reputation under the Arab dominion.

In Bagdad as early as the 9th Century there existed a hospital and Medical School. Verier Ali Ben Jss in 914 A. D, founded a second. He learned to recognise the want of doctors and of medicines during an epidemic which prevailed among the troops and throughout the country and decided to do something to improve this state of affairs. He commanded that the sick should be visited daily by the doctors and should have medicine and food given them and he caused a new hospital to be opened. When he was told that certain villages inhabited by Jews were entirely without medical assistance, he replied that the unbelievers also must be cared for. At the instance of Sinan Ben Tsabet Ben Carra other hospitals were erected in Bagdad.

The largest and most famous of these hospitals was established in the year 977 A. D by Abhad Ed Daula, an Emir of Bendes dynasty. According to the statement of Ibu Abu Oseibia Rhabes is said to have assisted in its original foundation.

To this hospital 24 doctors were appointed. There were specialists among them, some for fevers and the others for healing of wounds, reduction of dislocations and to diseases of the eyes. The sick were separated into different sections, according to the nature of their ailments. Noteworthy observations made by doctors in particular cases of disease were written down and preserved. A high official carried on the administration of the hospital; under him was a treasurer. This hospital existed up to the 13th Century or later date.

There were hospitals at Merv, at Ray, at Ispahan, Shirar, Jerusalem, Antioch, Mecca and Medina.

In Damascus there were several. The largest owed its origin to Nureddin. It served also as an institution for medical teaching. In the carpeted courtyard medical lectures were given after the visits to the sick; they often lasted for many hours. A medical liberary in this institution supplied the literary requirements of the teachers and the taught. The sick were separated according to their ailments. Such admirable care was taken of the sick that many feigned sickness, so as to be allowed to remain in the institution.

The medical schools of Damascus held the first rank in the 13th century and surpassed in fame even those of Bagdad and Cairo. Meariri has left complete information concerning the hospitals of Egypt and their organization. He states that the first hospital was established by Ibu Tulem about the year 875 and was provided with abundant means for its maintenance. He made it a rule of the hospital that neither soldier nor slave should be received in it he erected also two baths, one for men and the other for women. He commanded further, that when a patient was brought there, his clothes and money should be taken from him and given into the charge of the hospital steward, then that other clothes should be put on him, that he should be put to bed, have some food given him and that he should have medicine, diet and professional attendance until he recovered, then after receiving a chicken and a cake to eat he should be discharged taking with him his money and clothes.

He then mentions Kafur's hospital which was erected in the town of Mir in the year 957 A. D. A hospital existed in Fostath as early as the 10th century; another, to which for a short time Ibu Abu-Oseibia gave his medical services, owed its origin to Nasr Saladdin;

The most remarkable of all these foundations was the great Mansurian hospital at Cairo. The Sultan ElMansur Gilaven constructed this at great expense by altering a noble castle which had up to that time served as the residence of a princess. The foundation walls, the stones and marble columns of that part of the castle were pulled down and used in building the hospital. All artificers of Misr Cairo were compelled to work at it and were not allowed during the time it was being built to undertake other work. The Sultan rode daily to the site, inspected the workmen, even assisted with his own hands and compelled the passer-by to drag stones and to perform other services. He met with remarkable good

fortune in the work; in excavating the ground a workman discovered a box filled with gold and precious stones the value of which was sufficient to cover the whole cost of building. Four large wards enclosed the court in each of which was a fountain, fed by a reservoir situated in the middle of the court. At the completion of the building the Sultan said:—"I have founded this place for those of my own station and for those of lower rank. I have intended it as an establishment for kings and for servants, for soldiers and emirs, for the great and the little, for freeman and for slaves, for men and for women." He provided medicines, doctors, and everything else, that anyone could require in any sickness.

The Sultan appointed male and female ward attendants for the services of the patients and furnished them with wages. He had beds constructed for the sick and provided them with every kind of covering which was required in different kinds of sickness. Each class of patients had a separate room. He designed the four wards of the hospital for those suffering from fevers or similar diseases, he appointed one court for those suffering from diseases of the eyes, one for those with wounds, one for those afflicted with diarrhoea and one for women. A room for convalescents he divided into two compartments, one for men and the other for women. Water was laid on in all these places. A special room was appointed for cooking food and preparing drugs and syrups, another for mixing confections, balms and ointments for the eyes. The provisions were preserved in distinct places; the syrup and drugs in a room by themselves. The principal doctor had a room for himself where he could give lectures. The number of patients was not limited but every one in distress and poverty who came there found acceptance nor was any limit fixed to the time a patient might be kept there and anything required by those who lay sick at their own homes was sent to them from the establishment.

This hospital in course of time underwent many improvements and enlargements. A large pavilion was erected in the garden, where the patients could take walking exercise in the shade. The founder of the institution bequeathed to it so much landed property that the yearly revenue belonging to it amounted nearly to one million dirhun. Two officials were commissioned to collect the money pouring in from the landed possessions of the institution, others had control over the expenses and superintendence over the buildings and the kitchen.

According to lecture at first only patients of unsound mind were admitted into this hospital and not till a later period sufferers from

other ailments. They were well cared for there and enjoyed a comfortable existence. If they suffered from sleeplessness the time was spent with music, tale-telling and other diversions; on leaving the institution each convalescent received five gold pieces so that he was not compelled to engage immediately to heavy work; connected with the hospital was a mosque in which the Koran was constantly read and expounded. Moreover there was a library to which six eunuchs were appointed as servants, an orphan-asylum with a school in connection and an institution for the higher teaching.

There could have been no charitable foundation at that time existing in the world able to vie in magnificence, grandeur, and extent with this structure. There was the Munjjid Hospital at Cairo which was opened about the year 1420. There were hospitals also at Fer. Shain is said to have been rich in hospitals. There was a hospital in the 12th century at Algesiras and Cordova possessed many such institutions.

The loving care, which the Mahomedans took of the mentally afflicted, had its foundation in religion. The insane found in the countries subject to Islam friendly words and careful attention in the hospitals; whereas by the Christians they were treated as criminals, were cast into prisons and beaten or were exterminated with fire and sword as wizards and witches. In Bagdad and Cairo institutions for the insane existed long before it was thought of erecting them in the lands of christendom and the first in those lands arose in Spain, the intellectual development of which country was greatly influenced by the Arabian civilisation.

The Arabs introduced apothecaries' shops; it seems that they were made acquainted with them through the Nestorians. And they introduced dispensaries.

A religious toleration towards people of other faiths prevailed in the countries under Islam during the first centuries of its existence, such as was not found anywhere at that period among the Christians. The high teaching institutions and medical schools numbered among their teachers and students many Jews, Christians and followers of other religions. Not only Mahomedans but Christian and Jewish doctors also were appointed to their hospitals and patients who did not hold the prevailing belief found at them nevertheless welcome admittance and kind attention. Even the prophet Mohamed himself had recommended an unbeliever to his adherents as a doctor.

Jews and Christians and especially Nestorians played an important

part as body physicians at the court of the Caliphs and Mahomedan princes.

Medical practice was at first free to all; it gradually became customary that the doctor should obtain certificates from the teachers who had instructed them in the healing art, since they thus instilled greater confidence into the mind of the public. A professional blunder which resulted in the death of a patient was the occasion in the year 931 of calling upon all the doctors of Bagdad and the neighbourhood to submit themselves to examination. This examination was waived only in the case of the court doctors and of practitioners whose ability was generally recognised. All other practitioners reaching 860 in number had to prove their fitness for the medical calling by an examination held by the body physicans of the Caliph. There is no doubt that the beginnings of the system of medical examination are to be sought for among the Arabs.

The doctors enjoyed a superior position in social life. Many acquired great influence as the friends and advisers of rulers. The physicians in ordinary at the court of the Caliphs received higher pay and richer presents than the other learned men and officials and were loaded with honours and distinctions.

Not a few attained the dignity of vizier. On the other hand there were other members of the medical profession who decoyed the public by the unclean means of charlatanism. The Arabian doctors gave full attention to the theoretical problems of their calling but they entertained a temperate and modest conception of life and took things as they are, not as they ought to be.

Arabian culture fell from its high elevation almost as rapidly as it has climbed to it. The celebrated schools of the Nestorians were declining even in the 9th century. The higher teaching institutions of the Arabs lasted till the 14th century and then disappeared that scientific life which had borne such rich fruit for the human race. The religious wars which in the east under the name of crusades, were carried on by adventurers eager for booty and in the west led Christian princes to the conquest of Spain and of the Italian islands in the Mediterranean, evoked the religious fanaticism of the Mahomedans and paralysed their intellectual efforts. The Mongolian and Turkoman tribes which in the 13th century burst in with fire and sword upon the Arya-Semetic world crushed to fragments the ancient homes of civilisation in Asia and turned flourishing towns into desolate wastes. The east never recovered from this blow and Turkish dominion became the symbbol and sign of intellectual death. But in the Christian lands of the west the seeds of Arabian culture germinated into that vigorous growth of intellectual efforts which showed its first high development in the Schools of Salerno and Montpellier.

DR. S. K. ROY.

EGRET PLUMES.

BY MR. WILLIAM DUTCHER.

THE recent history of the White Herons is pathetic in the extreme, as it is a tale of persecution and rapid extermination. It was a sad day when fashion decreed that the nuptial plumes of these birds should be worn as millinery ornaments. Feathers and scalps, rapine and blood are the accompaniments of savage life, but better things are expected of civilization.

It is hardly possible that any women of the present day are unacquainted with all the horrible details of plume-hunting. The following pen-picture of the horrors of the plume trade, drawn by Prof. T. Gilbert Pearson, Secretary of the North Carolina Audubon Society, shows the work in all its bloody reality :

"In the tall bushes, growing in a secluded pond in a swamp, a small colony of Herons had their nesting home. I accompanied a squirrel-hunter one day to the spot, and the scene which met our eyes was not a pleasant one. I had expected to see some of the beautiful Herons about their nests, or standing on the trees near by, but not a living one could be found, while here and there in the mud lay the lifeless forms of eight of the birds. They had been shot down and the skin bearing the plumes stripped from their backs. Flies were busily at work, and they swarmed up with hideous buzzings as we approached each spot where a victim lay. This was not the worst; in four of the nests young orphan birds could be seen who were clamoring piteously for food which their dead parents could never again bring to them. A little one was discovered lying with its head and neck hanging out of the nest, happily now past suffering. On higher ground the embers of a fire gave evidence of the plume-hunters' camp. The next spring I visited this nesting site, but found only the old nests fast falling to decay. When man comes, slaughters and exterminates, Nature does not restore."

This story of a single Florida colony is the story of what has happened in all of Florida, the Gulf coast of the United States, along the Mexican and Central American coast, both on the Atlantic and Pacific sides, and has extended into South America. From the enormous numbers of Herons' plumes that are annually sold in the

* Taken from a Leaflet on "the Snowy Heron" by Mr. William Dutcher, Chairman of the National Committee of Audubon Societies of America.

London feather market there is no doubt that plume-hunters are at work wherever the white Herons are found.

That Herons are rapidly becoming scarce and more difficult to obtain by the plume-hunters is shown by the difference in price in the raw material. Twenty years since, the cost per ounce was only a few dollars, now it is more than quadrupled. In circulars sent by New York feather dealers to plume-hunters in Florida during 1903 thirty-two dollars per ounce was offered for fine plumes. This not only indicates the rapidly increasing scarcity of the white Herons but also that some dealers are willing, in order to obtain the plumes, to offer special inducements to hunters to violate laws enacted for the protection of these birds.

The much-sought-after plumes are worn by the Herons only for a very limited period during the year, that is, in the breeding season. Unfortunately, during that time the Herons gather in colonies; whether this is for protection or is merely social is not known. During the remainder of the year they are wild and wander over large districts, when it is impossible for plume-hunters to kill them in quantities that would afford pecuniary returns. However, during the breeding season the habits of these unfortunate birds change entirely, and with the growth of the parental instinct they lose all sense of fear or wildness and the hunter has little trouble in securing his victims. The death of the parent birds entails the destruction of the helpless nestlings by the painful and lingering method of starvation.

Mr. Chapman says, in his "Birds of Eastern North America," "The destruction of these birds is an unpleasant subject. It is a blot on Florida's History." The blood stain is not on Florida alone but may be found in every part of the world. A few years more of reckless slaughter during the breeding season and the white Herons will be classed among the extinct birds, the number of which is far too rapidly increasing.

Dealers often state that "aigrettes" are manufactured, but this is not so; man has never yet been able to imitate successfully these beautiful plumes; all that are offered for sale have been torn from the backs of the smaller white Herons. Even the stiff plumes, or "stubs", are not manufactured but are the plumes of the larger species of white Herons. ‡

‡ Prof. Ray Lankester, Director of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, being appealed to on the question of imitation plumes, wrote:— "It is absolutely

Herons' plumes are often sold as "Ospreys"; this is simply another trade name used to disguise the fact that they are Herons' plumes: the "Ospery" of science is the Fish Hawk, which produces no plumes of any kind.

Both "aigrettes," and "stubs" are dyed various colours, especially black; however, no matter what is the tint of the plume its original colour when on the back of the Heron was white; the artificial colour is merely in response to the dictates of fashion.

The wearing of "aigrettes", or plumes from the white Herons whether native or foreign, has now become a question of ethics which every woman must decide for herself. It matters not a whit where the plume comes from, the fact remains the same that the woman who wears one is party to a cruel wrong, and the plume itself becomes a badge of inhumanity and is no longer a thing of beauty.

Must the Snowy Heron become Extinct?

Mr. Joseph Collinson, the well-known writer on humanitarian subjects, makes a strong appeal in the *Liverpool Post and Mercury* for the legislative portection of the egret or white Heron from butchery and extermination. He says that recent events show all too plainly that the plume hunters and dealers who find the pursuit of the world's rare and most beautiful birds highly profitable—have no intention of slackening their hateful work of reckless destruction, and in pleading for special legislative action as the only means likely to stop the insensate massacre he expresses the hope that Parliament will press forward the "Plumage Bill" at once and set a much-needed example which would be likely to be followed on the Continent and elsewhere.

Mr. Collinson repeats what should be generelly known by this time. "The aigrette of commerce can be obtained in its full beauty only by shooting down the parent birds when the nesting season is well advanced, and, every allegation to the contrary notwithstanding the practice often entails horrible cruelty. These plumes are sold in

impossible to make artificial feathers that will in any way resemble the genuine plumage. Only recently I have had quite twenty ladies come to me with their millinery, which they were informed was entirely artificial, and in every case dead birds had been employed. The lies told by the trade sicken me as much as their practice. An osprey has never been imitated, and whatever the shopkeeper may say, it is always obtained from the parent bird slain at the breeding season. These questions have been so often placed before me that I am quite tired of assuring the public of the facts of the matter."

sent of thousands in the London market. At the Mincing Lane sale rooms last year, on August 4th, several large packages, consisting of the plumes of various species of egrets and herons, chiefly egrets, and showing a total of over 4000 ounces, were sold. According to the estimate accepted by the trade, this amount represented the plumes of quite 24,000 parent birds, whose fledgelings were probably left to die of starvation".

The statement that aigrettes are manufactured is exposed in a leaflet issued by the *Animals' Friend*. Man has never yet been able to imitate successfully these beautiful plumes. Even the stiff plumes or "studs" are not manufactured but are the plumes of the larger species of egrets or white herons.

OUR DEPORTATION AND OUR TROUBLES.

By Mr. David Ernest And Mr. R.S.C.Pillai.

ALTHOUCH we, as passive resisters, are prepared to suffer to any extent for the sake of the cause we have so dearly at heart, it was with much pain that we read the replies given by the Hon. Mr. Robertson, in the Imperial Legislative Council, and by Lord Beauchamp, in the House of Lords, for we feel that the humane side of our struggle has been lost sight of. We do not think that, because, out of respect to a Government official, some of us appeared before him decently dressed, after having recuperated for some days in Madras, it at all follows that we were not subjected to much needless inconvenience and hardship as a result of this deportation. Nor is it fair, we think, to suggest that, because we do not express our bitter sense of injury in having been dragged away from our helpless families and because we say that even these things and the trouble to which we have been put cannot damp our zeal to return to the Transvaal and take our places in the struggle again, we do not feel the injury that has been done us. If the later batches of deportees have been somewhat better treated than the earlier ones, it is chiefly because of the latter's intense sufferings and the protests that they raised at the time. Many of us were kept in the Lourenco Marques gaol for over twenty days, during the first four of which we had to starve owing to insufficient diet and were obliged to call for the help of the British Council-General. There too, several of us were attacked by a specially bad form of malaria, of which one man died. On the voyage to India, most of us had to starve for the first day or two in order to get proper rations, owing to the bad quality of the food civen to us. The majority of us arrived in India almost without glothing, some with no more than what they wore when they landed. We protest against our cheerfulness being used as an argument against our complaint of improper treatment.

Then, as regards Lord Beauchamp's statements, it is quite untrue that most of us refused to give evidence of domicile. To begin with we nearly all are registered, or entitled to registration, in the Transvaal, and are all therefore indentified more than once. And the Home Government ought not to forget that the Transvaal Supreme

Court has ruled that no registered Indian should be deported. Almost all of us, who are domiciled in South Africa, gave evidence as to domicile, but our statements were not listened to, although it was for Natal or the Cape Colony to proceed against us if we could not prove our claims, and not the Transvaal at all. The first signatory, for example, gave references to his parish priest in Durban, but he was nevertheless deported. And how can the Transvaal Government pretend that they cannot identify Mr. Veera Pillay, who was a Boer Government official before the war? And so with most of us.

But we feel most shocked at the reply given as to the help of the Portuguese authorities. It was officially announced, early in 1909, that an arrangement had been come to, to deport Indians direct to India, by the help of the Portuguese. What happens is this. We are arrested as we go about our work, brought before the Magistrate who issues an administrative order of deportation against us, against which there is no appeal, and we are then sent to Pretoria, where we are told that we are to be sent to India. Most of us are never asked about South African domicile, and our statements are ignored. Only recently have any of us been asked if they wished their families to accompany them. But as South Africa is our home, and our children have really all been born there, why should we bring them to India, which is a strange land to most of us, and where we may starve? Then, we are put in a train under police escort. At the last Transvaal station, Portuguese police, who have already entered the Transvaal at the invitation of the Transvaal Government, board the train. As the train crosses the Portuguese border at full speed, we are told by the Transvaal police that we are free, but we, of course, cannot get down from the train, and are carried on to the first Portuguese station. Here we learn that tickets have been purchased only as far as the border and we are first taken in charge by the Portuguese police for being without proper tickets, and then against our will taken to Lourenco Marques, where we are told that we have entered Portuguese territory without authority and will be sent to India. The local by-law referred to by Lord Beauchamp cannot operate outside the township limits, and we are brought into the township by main force. How have we broken the Portuguese laws? If we are forced on to another man's land against our will, can he charge us with trespass? But as we cannot go to the Portuguese Courts we have no redress. Lord Beauchamp says that this by-law came into force on the 15th July last year. How then

does he account for deportations in this way *before that date?* For deportations have been going on not only during the last few months but for more than eighteen months.

We feel that a shameful injustice has been done to us by the excuses of this treatment by the Home Government. Lord Beauchamp and Lord Crewe must know as well as Lord Ampthill how utterly un-British the whole thing is. Why, then, do they attempt to defend the Transvaal and the Portuguese authorities who, they know, have acted most inhumanly towards us, who are British subjects, innocent of any crime, law-abiding men, only anxious to live decent, peaceful honest, self-respecting lives? We appeal to our brethren in India to protest against the King-Emperor's Ministers treating this matter so lightly, and to help us to get our grievances removed, for we are struggling not only to secure peace for ourselves, but to prevent India's honor being dragged in the mud.

Since writing the above, we have seen with great surprise and regret, the order of the Government of Madras, in which they practically accuse us of returning to the Transvaal in order to put ourselves in "conflict with the law and administration of a British Colony". We are returning to our homes in South Africa. Our wives and families, our businesses, our future, are there. The Madras Government itself repudiates our right to Madras citizenship. As the above facts show, we are only claiming our rights to live as decent, self-respecting men in the Transvaal. The Government of India and the Home Government admit that the laws for the removal of which we are striving are unfair and unjust, and are themselves trying to secure the same thing. Are we not even to make an attempt to return to our homes? How we may conduct ourselves on our arrival in South Africa concerns, we think, only the Transvaal administration. So far as the Madras Government are concerned, we are returning to the land where we all possess domicile and where very many were born. Whilst thanking the Madras Government for their decision regarding our maintenance, we would like to say that it comes too late, as we are returning, as at present arranged, within a week, to South Africa, and the order can therefore be of no immediate assistance to us.

DAVID ERNEST.
R. S. CHOCKALINGAM PILLAI.
AARON JOHN.

The Lord Bishop of Madras and the Indian Christian Deportees from the Transvaal.

The following is a copy of a letter addressed by the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Madras to the Indian Christian Deportees from the Transvaal:—

ON TOUR,
August: 14. 1910.

My Dear Brethren in Christ,

I am very sorry that I am away from Madras and shall not return till you have left. I send you all my blessing and sincere sympathy and good wishes. I have been very sorry to hear of all your sufferings and of the harsh treatment you have received. But do not let these things make your hearts bitter or cause your to lose your trust in your Heavenly Father. Commit your cause to Him and try to overcome those who treat you unkindly by patient perseverance in well-doing.

Be honest, truthful, and temperate in all things: and, above all, be kind and loving and forgive your enemies as you too hope for forgiveness from God. May the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ grant to you all the guidance and strength of His Holy Spirit.

I am,
Your Father in God,
Henry, Madras.

To the Indian Christians deported from South Africa.

The following reply has been sent:—

My Lord,

On behalf of the Indian Christians among the deportees I desire to thank you most gratefully for Your Lordship's paternal letter of sympathy and encuragement. We feel that, in accepting suffering and in showing our capacity for self-sacrifice we are acting in accordance with the highest principles of the Christian faith. We believe that, so long as we continue to act in this spirit, we shall be honouring the sacred precepts that we have been taught and that we shall be raising the dignity of Indians, as Christians and as lovers of the Motherland, in the eyes of our fellow-Christians in South Africa of European descent, for we are certain that our whole future and that of our children depends upon the latter's recognition of our good faith and development of character.

Once more, on behalf of our co-religionists, I thank Your Lordship for the affectionate message that you have sent, us, and remain.

Your Lordship's Son in Christ,
DAVID ERNEST,
On Behalf of the Indian Christian Deportees.